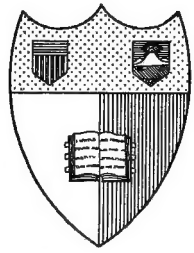
ASIA



Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

CHARLES WILLIAM WASON
COLLECTION
CHINA AND THE CHINESE

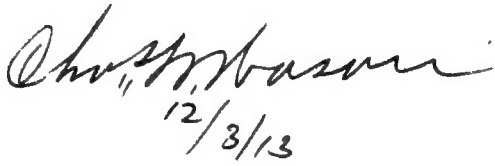
THE GIFT OF
CHARLES WILLIAM WASON
CLASS OF 1876
1918

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
3 1924 066 451 653

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924066451653



The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

In Twelve Volumes

Volume IV

GLASGOW
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS BY
ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND COMPANY FOR
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS, PUBLISHERS
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

MACMILLAN AND CO. LTD.	LONDON
THE MACMILLAN CO.	NEW YORK
SIMPKIN, HAMILTON AND CO.	LONDON
MACMILLAN AND BOWES	CAMBRIDGE
DOUGLAS AND FOULIS	EDINBURGH

MCMIV

COR VNVM VIA VNA
The righte honorable Syr William Cecill
Knighte Baron of Burghley Knight of the honorable
Order of the Garter, maister of Her highnes Wardes
And Liueries one of the Lordes of her maiestics
Priuie counsaile and lord High Tresorer of England

The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation

Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres

By

RICHARD HAKLUYT

Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford

VOLUME IV

Glasgow

James MacLehose and Sons

Publishers to the University

MCMIV

CONTENTS

Relating to China and the Chinese

Friar Beatus Odoricus's description of China . . . 422

City of Fuco 424

City of Quizai 425

Taxes 426

Strange belief of reincarnation 427

Chilenso 427

Janzu 428

Cambaleth 429

The great Can 430

Inns 433

Four annual feasts solemnized by Can 434

Tibet 436

Customs 438

Tartars put Senex to death 439

THE TABLE

PAGE

A Catalogue of the Voyages of this fourth volume made to the North and Northeast and to the South and South-east quarters; with the Ambassages, Treatises, Priviledges, Letters, and other observations, depending upon the Voyages of this fourth Volume:

A briefe Commentarie of the true state of Island . . 1

A letter written by the grave and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland. . . 194

The vanquishing of the Spanish Armada, Anno 1588. . 197

The honourable voyage to Cadiz, Anno 1596. . . 236

A Testimony, that the Britons were in Italy and Greece, with the Cimbrians and Gauls, before the incarnation of Christ. 269

The voyage of Helena the Empresse, daughter of Coelus king of Britain, and mother of Constantine the Great, to Jerusalem. An. 337. 270

The voyage of Constantine the Great, Emperour and king of Britaine, to Greece, Ægypt, Persia, and Asia, Anno 339. 272

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

The voyage of Pelagius Cambrensis, under Maximus king of the Britaines, into Ægypt and Syria, Anno 390. . 276

The voyage of certaine Englishmen sent by the French king to Constantinople, unto Justinian the Emperour, about the yeere of our Lord 500. . . . 278

The memorable voyage of Sighelmus bishop of Shirburne, sent by king Alphred unto S. Thomas of India, An. 883. confirmed by two testimonies. . . . 279

The voyage of John Erigen, under king Alphred, to Athens, in the yeere of our Lorde 885. 280

The voyage of Andrew Whiteman, aliâs Leucander, under Canutus the Dane, to Palæstina, Anno 1020. . . 282

The voyage of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin, unto Jerusalem, Anno 1052. 283

A voyage of three Ambassadours sent in the time of king Edward the Confessor, unto Constantinople, and from thence unto Ephesus, Anno 1056. . . . 284

The voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester unto Jerusalem, Anno 1058. 287

The voyage of Ingulphus, afterward Abbat of Croiland, unto Jerusalem, An. 1064. 288

A voyage made by diverse of the honourable family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtois the sonne of William the Conquerour, to Jerusalem, Anno 1096. . . 293

The voyage of Gutwere an English Lady married unto Baldwine brother of Godfrey duke of Bouillon, toward Jerusalem, An. 1097. 293

The voyage of Edgar the sonne of Edward, which was the sonne of Edmund surnamed Ironside, brother unto king Edward the Confessor (being accompanied with valiant Robert the sonne of Godwine) to Jerusalem, Anno 1102. 295

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

The voyage of Godericus a valiant Englishman, who travailed with his ships in an expedition unto the holy land, Anno 3. Hen. I. 297

The voyage of Hardine an Englishman, and one of the principall commaunders of 200 sayles of Christians ships, which arrived at Joppa, Anno 1102. . . 298

A voyage by sea of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemings, who arrived at Joppa in the holy land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the second, king of Jerusalem, and in the 8. yeere of Henry the first, king of England. . . 301

The voyage of Athelard of Bathe to Ægypt and Arabia, in the yeere of our Lord 1130. 306

The voyage of William Archbishop of Tyre to Jerusalem and to the citie of Tyre in Phœnicia, Anno 1130. . 307

The voyage of Robert Ketenensis, under king Stephen, to Dalmatia, Greece, and Asia, Anno 1143. . . 308

A voyage of certaine Englishmen under the conduct of Lewis the French king, unto the holy land, Anno 1147. 309

The voyage of John Lacy to Jerusalem, Anno 1173. . 310

The voyage of William Mandevile Erle of Essex to Jerusalem, Anno 1177. 310

A testimony that certain Englishmen were of the guard of the Emperour of Constantinople, in the time of John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. . . . 310

A great supply of money sent to the Holy land by King Henry the second. 311

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.*

PAGE

A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, unto Henry the second, King of England, Ann. 1177: wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries noblemen and subjects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battel against the Soldan of Iconium. 312

The famous voyage of Richard the first, king of England into Asia, for the recovering of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, Anno 1190. . . . 319

The voyage of Baldwine Archbishop of Canterbury unto Syria and Palæstina, in the yeere 1190. . . 339

A note drawen out of a very auncient booke in the custodie of the right Wor. M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Fredericke Tilney his ancester, knighted for his valour at Acon in the Holyland, by king Richard the first. 342

The voyage of Richard Surnamed Canonicus, under king Richard the first, into Syria, and Palæstina, Anno 1190. 343

The voyage of Gulielmus Peregrinus, under king Richard the first, to Palæstina, Anno 1190. . . . 344

A large contribution to the succour of the holy land made by king John king of England, Anno 1201. . . 345

The voyage of Hubert Walter bishop of Salisbury, under king Richard also, unto Syria, Anno 1190. . . 346

The voyage of Robert Curson a nobleman of England, and a Cardinall, under Hen. the third, to Damiata in Ægypt, Anno 1218. 347

The voyage of Rainulph Earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy Earle of Winchester, of William de Albanie Earle of Arundel, &c. to the holy land, Anno 1218. . . 349

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.*

PAGE

The voyage of Henry Bohun, and Saer Quincy, to the holy land, in the yeere of our Lord, 1222. . . . 349

The voyage of Rainulph Glanvile Earle of Chester to the holy land, and to Damiata in Ægypt. . . . 350

The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus bishop of Winchester, to Jerusalem, Anno 1231. 351

The honourable voyage of Richard Earle of Cornwall, brother to king Hen. the third, accompanied with William Long-espee Earle of Salisburie, and diverse other noblemen, into Syria, Anno 1240. . . 352

The comming of Baldwin the Emperour of Constantinople into England, An. 1247. 353

The voyage of William Long-espee, or Long-sword Erle of Salisburie into Ægypt with Lewis the French king, Anno 1248. 353

The voyage of prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third, into Syria, An. 1270. 359

The voyage of Robert Turneham, under the sayd prince Edward, into Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1270. . 366

A testimony concerning Anthony Beck bishop of Duresme, that he was elected Patriarke of Jerusalem, and confirmed by Clement the 5, bishop of Rome, Anno 1305. 370

The voyage of Frier Beatus Odoricus to Asia minor, Armenia, Chaldæa, Persia, India, China, and other remote parts, &c. 371

The voyage of Matthew Gurney an English knight, against the Moores of Alger to Barbary and to Spaine. . 444

The comming of Lyon king of Armenia into England, Anno 1386, to make a treaty of peace betweene Richard the second, king of England, and the French king. 445

A Catalogue of the Voyages—*Continued.* PAGE

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derby, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly Henry the fourth king of England, with an army of Englishmen, to Tunis in Barbary. 450

The travailes and memorable victories of John Hawkwood Englishman, in diverse places of Italy, in the reigne of Richard the second. 452

The voyage of Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, brother (by the mother) to K. Richard the second, to Jerusalem, and S. Katherins mount, Anno 1394. . 453

The voyage of Thomas Lord Mowbrey duke of Norfolke, to Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord, 1399. . . 453

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople into England, to desire the ayde of king Henry the fourth, against the Turkes, Anno 1400. . . . 454

The voyage of the bishop of Winchester to Jerusalem, Anno 1417. 454

A voyage intended by king Henry the fourth to the holy land, against the Saracens and Infidels, Anno 1413. . 455

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

William Cecil, Lord Burghley, ... *Frontispiece*

William Cecil, son of Richard Cecil of Burleigh, was born at Bourn on the 13th September, 1520. He was educated at Stamford, Grantham, and St. John's College, Cambridge, and entered Gray's Inn in 1541. In 1547, Henry VIII. appointed him *custos brevium*. The Lord Protector Somerset made him Master of Requests in 1547 and his Secretary in 1548. On Somerset's disgrace Cecil was imprisoned for two months in the Tower, but in 1550 he was made a Secretary of State, and in 1551 was knighted. In 1558 Elizabeth appointed him Chief Secretary of State, and in 1572 Lord High Treasurer, a post which he held until his death on 4th August, 1598. He was created Baron Burghley in 1571. The portrait here reproduced is from the print by William Rogers in the British Museum.

Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham, ... 200

Lord Howard of Effingham was born in 1536 and succeeded his father in 1573. In 1585 he was made Lord High Admiral of England and as such he commanded the fleet against the Armada. He was created Earl of Nottingham for his services against the Armada and in the Cadiz expedition of 1596.

In 1619 he resigned office in favour of Buckingham. He died on 14th December, 1624. His portrait is taken from the engraving by William Rogers in the Cracherode Collection in the British Museum.

The Ark Royal, ... 208

This vessel (Lord Howard of Effingham's flagship against the Armada) was built at Deptford in 1587 by Richard Chapman, a Government Shipwright. She is sometimes called the 'Ark Raleigh,' and may originally have been built for Sir Walter Raleigh, and afterwards sold by him to the Government. She was about 700 tons burden, with a length of keel of about 100 feet and a beam of about 37. When in commission she carried a crew of about 400 men of whom 100 were soldiers and 32 gunners. Effingham, in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated 'the laste of Februarie, 1587,' says 'I praie your Lordship tell her Ma^tie from me that her money was well geven for the *Arke Rawlye*, for I think her the odd ship in the worlde for all conditions, and truely I think there can no great ship make me change and go out of her.' After taking part in numerous expeditions she was rebuilt in 1608 and re-christened the 'Anne Royal' in honour of James I.'s Queen. This reproduction is from the engraving in the Print Department of the British Museum.

The first Action in the English Channel against the Armada, ... 212

From Robert Adams' Charts engraved by Augustine Ryther, for P. Ubaldini's *Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam Vera Descriptio*, 1588, in the British Museum. From these charts the Armada tapestries

PAGE

were designed for Lord Howard of Effingham. This chart shows the position of the fleets on the morning of 21st July, 1588. The dotted line to the south from Plymouth shows the course taken by the English main fleet across the front of the Spaniards until they had weathered the Armada, while the dotted line zig-zagged along the English coast shows the beat to windward by a small squadron of eight English ships, which joined the main fleet in the first attack on the Armada.

Sir Horatio Pallavicini, ... 216

Son of an Italian merchant. He was recommended to Queen Mary, and appointed Collector of Papal Taxes. According to tradition he abjured Romanism on Mary's death and appropriated the sums collected for the Pope. He lent large sums of money to Queen Elizabeth as well as to the Netherlands and Henry of Navarre. As a gentleman-adventurer, he fitted out a ship at his own cost, and commanded her in the Channel against the Armada. He was afterwards charged with the custody of Don Alonzo de Luzon, and three other important Spanish prisoners, until an exchange was arranged. He died on 6th July, 1600, and at his death the Queen owed him nearly £29,000, equal to about £230,000 of our money. This was never fully paid. The portrait is reproduced from John Pine's (Armada) *Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords*, London, 1753.

The Fleets at close Quarters, . . . 220

From Adams' Series of Views of the Armada in the British Museum. The various types of vessels engaged are well shown.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

The last Action in the English Channel against the Armada, ... 224

From Adams' Chart No. 10. This shows the final battle off Gravelines on 29th July. The galliasse of Hugo de Moncada is shown ashore at Calais 'assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoys and drumblers,' with the larger English vessels standing by to support them. The squadron in mid-channel probably represents Howard rejoining the main fleet with his pinnaces after the galliasse was abandoned (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Vol. I., p. 272).

Relics from the Spanish Armada, ... 232

These interesting relics of the Spanish Armada were recovered in June, 1903, from the wreck of the Spanish Galleon 'Florencia' in Tobermory Bay, Isle of Mull. The 'Florencia' was one of the largest ships in the Armada—a galleon of over 900 tons, with a complement of 400 soldiers and 86 sailors. She is mentioned in the Duke of Medina's Diary as having fought gallantly in the actions in the English Channel on 23rd July, 1588. She was blown up in Tobermory Harbour where she had put in to water—tradition says by a member of the Clan Maclean—in August 1588.

The Gun is a bronze breech-loader, 4½ feet long, and was recovered fully charged. The diameter of the bore at the muzzle is an inch and seven-eighths, and the ball, if of iron, would weigh about 7 ozs. The breech block with its square shaped handle is shown above the gun. The block was kept in position by a wedge inserted behind it. The square hole shown in the engraving was to allow the escape of gas.

The Compasses (reproduced full size) are also of bronze, and have the head of each leg formed into a semicircle, so that by their cross action they could

easily be extended or contracted as required with one hand. Despite their long immersion these relics are perfectly preserved: they are illustrated here by permission of the Duke of Argyll and of the Syndicate on whose behalf Captain William Burns is conducting the dredging operations in Tobermory Bay.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, ... 240

From the engraving by J. Houbraken of the picture formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Worsley, Bart. The Earl of Essex was born at Netherwood, Herefordshire, on 10th November, 1567, and when only thirteen took his M.A. degree at Trinity College, Cambridge. He saw service in the Netherlands in 1585-6 and distinguished himself at the battle of Zutphen. In 1590 he married clandestinely Sir Philip Sidney's widow. In 1591 he commanded the forces despatched to help Henry IV. against the League, and in 1596 along with Lord Howard of Effingham, the Cadiz Expedition. He was appointed Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland in 1599, but after six months' absence in Ireland he returned to England, was imprisoned and stripped of all his honours. On 8th February, 1601, he attempted to raise the city of London against Elizabeth. On the 19th he was found guilty of high treason and on the 25th February, 1601, was beheaded in the Tower.

Sir Robert Southwell, ... 248

From the print after the original by Henry Cornelius Vroom. Sir Robert Southwell of Woodrising, Norfolk, was the son-in-law of Lord Howard of Effingham by his marriage with Frances, Lord Howard's third daughter. He commanded the

PAGE

'Elizabeth Jonas' a vessel of from 850 to 1000 tons against the Spanish Armada, and the 'Lion' in the Cadiz Expedition of 1596.

The Action in Cadiz Bay, 21st June, 1596, . . 256

From a very rare Dutch engraving. The date (9th June) on the engraving is reckoned by the 'old style.'

The Defences of Acre, ... 367

From Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Lib. VI.*, printed at Basle, in 1552.

Tyre in the Sixteenth Century, ... 369

From Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Lib. VI.* The importance of Tyre as a seaport is shown by the number and variety of vessels anchored before it.

Jerusalem, ... 370

From Münster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Lib. VI.* The view shows the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Solomon's Temple.

Map of the Coasts of Abex, ... 458

From *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies*, printed at London, 1598. The map was engraved by Robert Beckit. This English edition is almost the first book with English made maps.

THE FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

Made to the North and North-east and to the South and South-east quarters of the World, with the directions, letters, privileges discourses, and observations incident to the same

patris legatos, ultionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & ut legatorum necem in se, non in patria ulcisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Quæ verò res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures movit, ut patriæ flagrantes amore, nullum pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imò ne mortem ipsam recusarint, ea profectò me quoque impulit, non quidem, ut quemadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum ultrò offerrem, sed tamen, ut id quod solum possem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem: Hoc est, ut scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profectò periculosam, & multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam judicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeii exemplum confirmavit: Quem rei frumentariæ apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Urbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegisset, majorem patriæ, quàm sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris sævitiæ committere velle animadverteret, ipse navim primus ingressus, anchoras tolli jussit, in hæc verba exclamans: Ut navigemus urget necessitas: ut vivamus, non urget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur, patriæ periclitantis majorem habendam rationem, quàm privatæ incolumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor,

[I. 516.] (Si parva licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) ut collectis ac comportatis iis, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostræ nomini ac famæ, apud extraneos, ex malevolorum quorundam invidia jam diu laboranti uterer; paucula hæc in lucem emittere, méque pelago huic quantumvis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cúmque illo exclamare non dubitem: Ut scribamus, urget necessitas: Ut verò scriptum nostrum, cujusvis, delicato palato, ubíque satisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proterviam effugiat, non urget. Institutum meum complures probaturos spero: successum forsan non itidem

omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen majorem habendam rationem patriæ, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias sustinentis, quàm sive laudis, sive vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsan redituræ, existimabam. Quid enim causæ esse potest, cur nonnullorum odium & invidentiam, cum hoc patriæ, benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio fortè conjunctam recusem?

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calumnias durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen æquos me habiturum censores confido, qui paulò diligentius animadvertere volent, quam parùm tolerabiles sint scriptorum de nostra gente errores: quot etiam & quàm graves quorundam in nos calumniæ, quibus nationem nostram variis modis lacessivere, & etiamnum lacessere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli natalis amori est; Dandum justo, ob hanc patriæ illatam injuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, ubique; mihi temperavi, ac à convitiis abstinere volui: quòd si quid videatur mollius dicendum fuisse, id prædicta ratione veniam, spero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hæc mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquod edituris in more positum animadverto, id mihi hoc tempore solicitè curandum est: Nempè ut patronum & mecœnatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quæram, sub cujus nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime Princeps, Sereniss. Majestate: Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras in suam potestatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostræ innocenter contaminatum, curæ ut sit, supplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiss. non solùm ad hanc rem, S. Majestatis V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoque alia, quæ in nostra patria desiderantur, aut quæ alioqui ad hujus utilitatem & salutem communem spectant: quæque non per me, sed per summorum nostræ gentis virorum libellos supplices

hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certè brevi exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Majestas, Christianissimorum majorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperii sui Insulas, sua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quæ nostra est ad S. Majestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Majestatis V. in nobis sublevandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria : Et ob nutritam extremi ferè orbis Arctoi ecclesiam, in remotissimis M. V. imperii finibus, quæ tranquillitatem & tuta singulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, præmium, ac reposita in cœlis immarcessibilis vitæ æternæ corona.

Cæterum cùm illa hujus loci non sint, id quod mei est propositi subjungo : & à S. Majestate V. ea, qua par est, animi submissione peto, ut huic meæ opellæ & studio in patriam collato, favere, & patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Sereniss. Princeps, Dom. clementissime, Majestatem V. sapientiæ & prudentiæ, omniúmque adeò virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa sumentem, ad summum imperii fastigium, summus ille regnorum, omniúmque adeò rerum humanarum dispensator, Deus opt. max. evehat : Evectam, omni rerum fœlicissimo successu continuè beet : Beatámque hoc modo, ut summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, præsidium, Ecclesiæ clypeum & munimen, quàm diutissimè conservet : Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni cœlestis gaudio, cum præcipuis ecclesiæ Dei nutritiis, syderis instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiam idem Pater clementis. ut hæc vota, quantò sæpius, in amplissimorum Majestatis V. regnorum & Insularum quovis angulo, quotidiè repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tantò rata magis & certiora maneant.

Haffniæ 1593. Mense Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter subjectus :
Arngrimus Jonas Islandus.

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem. [I. 517.]

IN lucem exiit circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valdè deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui unquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum fœtum semel emisisse, nisi tertiùm etiam aut quartùm publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, aliósque vicinos populos summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi hujus odium fuit, & ex re illicita lucri aviditas. Et hoc in illa civitate, quæ plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impunè fecit. Joachimus Leo nomen illi est, dignus certè qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alii scriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandicæ mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, à re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quàm sordidus iste Rhythmista: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, quæ illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam aliis exposuerint. Hæc animadvertens, legens, expendens, subinde novis, qui Islandorum nomen & æstimationem læderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram novis conspurcare mendaciis, lectorésque nova monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, sæpe optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quíque aliquo scripto innocentem gentem à tot conviciis si non liberaret, certè aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet.

Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, Arngrimo Jonæ F. ut revolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amórque communis patriæ, ita ut hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim à me suo quasi jure flagitabat, ut in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis præfarer: existimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare ut mentem breviter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam & necessariam quoque operam navasse eum judico, qui non modò scriptorum varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & invicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Æquum est igitur, Lector optime, ut quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriæ amore adversus Zoilorum proterviam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorliacus Episcopus
Holensis in Islandia.
Anno 1592. Jul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

IMbute Lector suavis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne, humane, multùm candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:
Has videris si fortè quando paginas
Non lectione síque dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori ut hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:
Communis unquam sortis haud sis immemor,
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium

Erroribus nævísque semper plurimis ?
Quod si diu multúmque cogitaveris,
Nostris eris conatibus paulò æquior,
Tuis & isto ritè pacto consules :
Candore nam quo nostra tractans utere,
En te legentes rursus utentur pari :
Sic ipse semper alteri quæ feceris,
Aequalitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis prædicata Islandica
Authoribus quamvis probata maximis,
Nostro perîclo hucúsque vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non ut notam scriptorum inuram nomini,
Nostrum sed à nota probrosa vindicem : [I. 518.]
Hoc institutum júsque fásque comprobant :
Hoc nostra consuetudo léxque comprobant :
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo fave : nostris fave conatibus,
Sis mitis, indulgens & æquus arbiter,
O Lector arte imbute suavis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria.

COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA INITIUM.

QUemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, invidia & avaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animadvertimus : Alios verò justis de causis arma sumere ; ut qui vel doctrinæ cœlestis propagandæ aut servandæ ergò bella movent, vel aliquo modo lacessiti paratam vim ac injuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lacessiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur : Non secus Apollini militantes : alii animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur : puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui livore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, ut ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen

ac famam alicujus, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos commaculantes : Alii verò contrà, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando investigant & in lucem emittunt ; ut qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quíque suis vigiliis veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt : qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animadverterunt, usu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt : qui mundi historias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ consecrarunt : qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus juverunt : denique qui aliorum in se suamve gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim injustam propulsare annixi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui divinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (ut id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non possum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis suæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & convitiantium jugum detrectare studuerunt : Majora ingenio sors denegavit : Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, variis convitiis, magna cum voluptate proscindere, aliísque nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantiæ occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quòd sperem me ab hac inveterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decrevi.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, ut ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè superiores, ideóque ad hanc causam patriæ suscipiendam multò magis idoneos : Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacii, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communi causæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum ut æquissimæ postulationi ipsius parerem, atque

amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum ut reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia fœlicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione ulterius progressos, ad hoc gentis nostræ patrocinium invitarem: Tantum abest, ut iis qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Cæterum ut ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicunque sunt nostræ gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scripto se uti ac niti jactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quàm vera scriptores prodiderint, ut si fortè isti, aliis in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamvis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientiæ normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reverenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium: Novitii verò, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquilli, cum iis longè veriora quàm scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua levitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil nisi invidiæ & calumniæ maculam lucrati esse videbuntur.

Commentarii duæ partes.

Atque ut Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propositæ orationis capita, unum de Insula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam ultra has metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipsa, & quæ huc [I. 519.] pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel Geographum sed disputatorem tantùm agimus. Itaque omissa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ est de situ, nomine, miraculis, & aliis quibusdam adjunctis Insulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

[Sectio

SECTIO PRIMA.

Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph. Insula Islandiæ, quæ per immensum à cæteris secreta longè sita est in Oceano, vixque à navigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

ETsi hæc tractare, quæ ipsam terram vel illius adjuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morsu vindicandos parùm faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primùm, & quidem prolixiùs aliquantò agendum est, ut perspecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Islandiæ scriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in iis quæ de Incolis scripta reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alii, tanquam Diis prodentibus, acceperunt, unde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, judicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandiæ à reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, si quis insulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quàm isto cognosci exactè posse modo existimârim, cum nulli dubium sit, quàm semper nautarum vel rectissimus, ut illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandiæ sententias subjungam, ut inde quivis de distantia id colligat, quod maximè verisimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adjungam.

	Longit.	Latitud.
Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub gradibus ferè	20	68.
Gerardus Mercator	352	68.
Gemma Frisius:		
Medium Islandiæ:	7. 0	65. 30
Hersee:	7. 40	60. 42
Thirtes:	5. 50	64. 44
Nadar:	6. 40	57. 20
Jacobi Ziegleri:		
Littus Islandiæ Occident.	20.	63.
Chos promontorium:	22. 46	63.

	Longit.	Latitud.
Latus orientale extenditur contra Septentrionem: & finis extensionis habet	30.	68.
Latus septentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extensionis habet	28.	69.
Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.		
Heckelfel promontorium	25.	67.
Madher promontorium	21. 20	65. 10
Civitates in ea mediterraneæ sunt		
Holen Episcopalis	28.	67. 50
Schalholten Episcopalis	22.	63. 30
Reinholdus.		
Per Holen Islandiæ.		68.
Joh. Myritius.		
Per Med. Islandiæ.		69.
Neander.		
Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum usque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeò ferè, ut mediam circulus ille secet, &c.		

Et si qui sunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insulæ situm notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis dissidentes reperias. Ego quamvis verisimiles conjecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Islandiæ situ sententiæ assentiar, quin potius diversum quippiam ab iis omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, ut dixi, fortè aliquando non conjecturam, sed observationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Islandiæ meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Unde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaveris, nullam modò

positarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensium navigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia perventum esse. Præterea etiam, Insulæ quæ ab ovium multitudine Færeyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dictæ sunt, bidui navigatione, ut & littora Noruagiæ deserta distant. Quatridui verò navigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis intervallo, ad provinciam Noruagiæ Stad. inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergas sitam pervenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus.

Bidui navigatio ab Islandia ad Noruagiam desertam.

SECTIO SECUNDA.

[I. 520.] *Munsterus, Olaus magnus: & reliqui.*

In hac, æstivo solstitio, sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Insula quæ longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus.

NUllum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandiæ angulo, si modò quis est, fatemur, ubi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandiæ, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima convalle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. ut à Domino Gudbrando ejusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem brevissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, ut ex artificum tabulis videre est. Unde constat nec Islandiam ultra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in æstivo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Nomen habet à glacie quæ illi perpetuo ad Boream adhæret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagiæ Insula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano reperitur, obsoletæ admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hæc est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata. *Munsterus. Saxo.*

NOmen habet à glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. Nam qui omnium primus ejus inventor fuisse creditur Naddocus genere Noruagus, cum versus insulas Farenses navigaret tempestate valida, ad littora Islandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit: ubi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum sociis commoratus, animadvertit immodicam nivium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideò à nive nomen Insulæ Snelandia indidit. Hunc secutus alter, Gardarus, fama quam de Islandia Naddocus attulerat impulsus, Insulam quæsitum abiit, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insula imposuit. Quin & plures novam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam Noruagus (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illíque à glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit. *Snelandia.*

Obsoletæ admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam ervo, ut quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitatam esse Islandiam, seu ut verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incoli cœptam.

Hæc est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub judice lis est. Quam tamen facilè dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animadvertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuisse inhabitatam. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam jam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud verò rursus si quis neget, per me sanè licebit, ut illud sit quoddam quasi specta- 874.

culum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Unus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, ubi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius unam ex Orcadibus, sive ultimam in ditione Scoti, ut Joannes Myritius & alii, qui nomen illius referunt Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam ultimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statueret. Quod vel ex illo Virgilii Eclog. 1. apparet.

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos. Quartus unam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telemarchiam Noruagiæ. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Perpetuò ad Boream adhæret.) Illud verò, Glaciem Insulæ perpetuò, vel ut paulò post asserit Munsterus: Octo continuis mensibus adhærere: neutrum verum est. Nam ut plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio solvitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Januarium aut Februarium sæpissimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam hujus nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Unde constat quàm verè à Frisio scriptum sit, navigationem ad hanc insulam tantùm quadrimestrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter, Cùm Anglicæ naves quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Junio, plærumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Augustum iterum hinc solvant. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam navis Germanica, cupro onusta, portum Islandiæ Vopnafiord 14. dies circiter in Novembri occupavit, quibus lapsis inde fœliciter solvit. Quare cum glacies Islandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo mensibus adhæreat, Munsterus & Frisius manifestè falluntur.

Glacies Aprili aut Maio solvitur.

SECTIO QUARTA.

[I. 521.]

Tam grandis Insula, ut populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus. Situs Insulæ extenditur inter austrum & boream ducentorum prope Schænorum longitudine. *Kranzius. Munsterus.*

GRandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Scholæ Oldenburgensis Anno 1591. ad avunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit brevem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodiis de Islandia collegerat. Ubi sic reperimus: Islandia duplo major Sicilia, &c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet. Nostræ verò Insulæ ambitus etsi nobis non est exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & constans opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandiæ insigniora, quæ singula 12. inter se milliaribus distent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam summam ostendunt. *Magnitudo Islandiæ.*

Populos multos) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Episcopus Schalholtensis in Islandia, omnes Insulæ colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, ut regi tributum solvere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum fœminis & promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curavit, reperítque in parte Insulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa solventium. Jam si quis experiatur, inveniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

SECTIO QUINTA.

Insula multa sui parte montosa est & inculta. Qua parte autem plana est præstat plurimùm pabulo, tam læto, ut pecus depellatur à pascuis, ne ab arvina suffocetur. *Munst. Frisius, Ziegler.*

ID suffocationis periculum nullo testimonio, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

[Sectio

SECTIO SEXTA.

Munst. Frisius. Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in cœlum, quorum vertices perpetua nive candent, radices sempiterno igne æstuant. Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter Crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. Rupes sive promontorium Hecla æstuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem sideream perpetuæ flagrationis æstibus imitatus, incendia sempiterna jugi flammarum eructatione continuat.

MIracula Islandiæ Munsterus & Frisius narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hîc de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus aliis montibus perpetuo igne æstuantibus dicunt, manifestè erroneum est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam australis Islandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis nivibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna saxorum ac cineris copia ejecta. Cæterum ille mons longè est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diversissimus. Porrò etsi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter ista contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in Munstero, Zieglero & Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego sanè nefas esse duco, his vel similibus naturæ miraculis ab absurda asserenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impossibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi verò non concurrant in hujusmodi incendiis causæ ad hanc rem satis validæ. Est in horum montium radicibus materia uri aptissima, nempe sulphurea & bituminosa. Accedit aër per poros ac cavernas in terræ viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendii fomitem exsufflans unà cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam follibus quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet

siquidem ignis, his ita convenientibus, quæ tria ad urendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideóque flammas diuturnas alentem: Motum præstat per terræ cavernas admissus aër: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis invicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisve seu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, à sulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius pulvis conficitur, excitato ejiciuntur) lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, colliquefacta cum immodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exspuentis & ejaculantis, idque ut plurimum, non sine terræmotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terræ fiat, succussio à Possidoneo appellatur, vel hiatus erit, vel pulsus. Hiatu terra [I. 522.] dehiscit: pulsu elevatur intumescens, & nonunquam, ut inquit Plinius, moles magnas egerit: Cujusmodi *Lib.* 2. terræmotus jam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandiæ *cap.* 20. Australis Anno 1581 infestantis, quique à Pontano his verbis scitissimè describitur.

> Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
> Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
> Explorátque abitum insistens, & singula tentat,
> Si quâ forte queat victis erumpere claustris.
> Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam
> Terra, suis quatiens latas cum mœnibus urbes:
> Dissiliunt avulsa jugis immania saxa, &c.

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota esse existimemus; Sed ne nos alii ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc exstruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moveat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Islandiæ montibus, videlicet cum eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquam nive careant. Porrò id admirari, est præter authoritatem tantorum virorum, quibus Ætnæ incendium optimè

notum erat, quæ, cùm secundum Plinium hybernis temporibus nivalis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundum illos, ille mons, cum adhuc nivium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Heclæ propter nives in summo vertice & basin æstuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum esse potest, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquam, nisi rarissimè erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, quæ nivibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat. Nam *Cardanus.* & in Caira, altissima montis cacumina nivibus semper candentia esse perhibentur: & in Beragua quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in cœlum elata, quæ nivibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantùm decem ab æquatore distent. Utrámque hanc provinciam juxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffæ (quæ una est ex insulis Canariis, quæ & Fortunatæ) pyramis, secundum Munsterum, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aëra assurgens, atque instar Aetnæ jugiter conflagrans, nives, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo, Indiæ occidentalis Historico, non resolvit. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breviter de incendiis montanis.

Nunc illud quoque castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum usque attolli scribant. Habent enim nullam præ cæteris Islandiæ montibus notabilem altitudinem: Precipuè tertius ille Helga à Munstero appellatus, nobis Helgafel. 1. Sacer mons, apud monasterium ejusdem nominis, nulla sui parte tempore æstivo nivibus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquam, ut initio hujus sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec verò perpetuæ nives Heclæ, vel paucis aliis adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet ejusmodi montes nivosos Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facilè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem versus,

ut à Munstero & Zieglero annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est: sed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Incendia perpetua jugi, &c. Quicunque perpetuam flammarum eructationem Heclæ adscripserunt, toto cœlo errarunt, adeò, ut quoties flammas eructârit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, usque ad annum 1558. quæ ultima fuit in illo monte eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammas & incendia alat, quæ videlicet statis intervallis, ut hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant. *Annales Islandiæ.*

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Montis Heclæ flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aqua extinguitur: Eóque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi ejiciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. *Frisius. Munst.*

NEc stuppam adurit.) Unde habeant Scriptores, non satis conjicitur. Hæc enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hîc unquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent. Nemo enim est apud nos tam temerariæ curiositatis, ut hujus rei periculum, ardente monte, facere ausit, vel quod scire licuit, unquam ausus fuerit. Quod tamen Munsterus asserit. Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendii contemplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos una aliqua vorago vivos absorbet, &c. Quæ res, ut dixi, nostræ genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot confusa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Unde [I. 523.] facile apparet, à Sophis quibusdam, si diis placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: Speculum Regale nomen dederunt, *Speculum Regale.*

propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plærumque sub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scatet speculum minimè regale, sed Anile & Irregulare. In hoc speculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc stabilita, ideóque explodenda.

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacii accusem ; nullum verò ex his quæ minus credibilia affert, recenseam ; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri existimarim.

1 De quadam Insula Hyberniæ ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet : Cujus incolæ decedentes non inhumantur : sed ad aggerem seu parietem cœmeterii, vivorum instar erecti, consistunt perpetuò : Nec ulli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxii : ut posterûm quivis suos majores ibi quærere & conspicere possit.

2 De altera Hyberniæ Insula, ubi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hyberniæ, quæ omnibus omninò venenis resistant, serpentes & alia venenata, ubivis terrarum, solâ virtute & præsentiâ, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hyberniæ Insula : Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exstructum, juris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (ut tota Insula incolis) & sacris perpetuò careat : idque per naturam ita esse.

5 De quarta Hyberniæ Insula, quæ in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet : cujus gramina, quibusvis morbis præsentissimum remedium existant : Insula verò ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque ut plurimum, diebus Dominicis, ut tum quivis facilè eam veluti navim quandam, ingrediatur : id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripæ adnasci tradit, ut à continente non discernas : In ejus autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute consi-

milem: quæ unde veniat, nesciri: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

6 De venatoribus Noruegiæ, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumvis impropriè: cùm ligno ut non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti sint, ut asseres 8. ulnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoveant, ut non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam avium volatu superari nequeant: atque unico cursu, unico etiam hastæ ictu, novem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & similia, de Hybernia, Noruegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitavit. *Gronlandia.*

Sed Frisium audiamus. Flamma, inquit, Montis Heclæ nec stuppam, lucernarum luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui, inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus ut siccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Unde etiam fabri, aqua inspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cùm enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum utrumque aquæ inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuso fumo absumitur, sed totum ignis ipse depascitur, quò purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Unde etiam ignes artificiosi aqua minimè extinguibiles. Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ sponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur. Prodidit etiam Philosophus, Aqua ali ignem. Arist. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Histor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. In Nymphæo exitè Petra flamma, que aquâ accenditur. Idem, Viret æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, ut Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsisse *Chronica Islandiæ.*

totum, idem autor est. Et anno 1226, & 1236. non procul à promontorio Islandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, ut Servio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exsiliisse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad ultionem exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ ut aqua accendatur, ita terra aut fœno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campestris, quæ frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in solâ Heclâ mirari (ponam enim jam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quòd à quoquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quàm campestribus, cum ea commune esset.

Frisius. Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, projicit ingentia Saxa, sulphur evomit, cineribus egestis, [I. 524.] tam longè terram circumcirca operit, ut ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut aliis montibus flammivomis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modò simile, sed prope idem: Nisi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm aliis id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis prorsus quievit, facta videlicet ultima eruptione, An. 1558 ut superius annotavimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel majus cæteris montibus flammivomis competat, ut mox apparebit. Quòd verò sulphur ejaculetur, manifestum est commentum, nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hîc præfandum esse mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore petendam, quòd, cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis divisim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ sunt meritò secundæ partis, miscere cogar. Evenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insulæ situi ac miraculis, religionis

incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis, carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam ut hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes eò perduci, ut hæc vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluvies nautica, (hîc enim saniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc insolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore ad istam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consuevit. Atque hac persuasione vulgi fama inolevit, dum (ut ad maledicta optimè assuefactum est) unus alteri hujus montis incendium imprecatur. Quasi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, 1. substantias spirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur, cur eundem carcerem damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendiis celebri, confingant? At confinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est. Sit sanè: Eadem igitur hujus carceris veritas, quæ & purgatorii. Sed priusquam longius procedamus, libet hîc referre fabulam perlepidam, hujus opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum navi Islandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citissimo cursu iter suum rectà legenti, factam obviam alteram, similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: cujus præfectus rogatus, quinam essent? Respondisse fertur: De Bischop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho. Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne pelvim postulet dari: Est enim mendacium adeo detestandum, ut facilè nauseam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim ejusdem facimus atque illarum coax, coax. Nec verò dignum est hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin potius ad scriptores nostros convertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hîc, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peuceri, illud præterire. Est in Islandia, inquit, mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, ejulantium miserabili & lamentabili ploratu personat, ut voces plorantium circumquaque, ad intervallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumvolitant hunc corvorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidem ab incolis existimantur. Vulgus incolarum descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunque parte orbis terrarum, aut cædes fiunt cruentæ, commoveri horrendos circumcirca tumultus, & excitari clamores, atque ejulatus ingentes longâ experientiâ didicerunt. Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre ausus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Islandia, sed genus aquilarum secundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notavit, & Pygarsum appellavit. Nec ulli sunt hujus spectaculi apud nos testes: Nec deníque ibidem corvos aut aquilas nidîficare probabile est, quæ, igni & fumo semper inimicissimo, potius à focis vel incendiis arceantur. Et nihilominus in hujus rei testimonium, (ut & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia testatur. Unde verò foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periæcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ re multa essent, quæ authorem istius mendacii interrogatum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis constaret: qui utinam veriora narrare discat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte similia, incomperta, átque adeò incredibilia, clarissimo viro Peucero, aut aliis referre præsumat.

Ast verò Munsterus cum incendii tanti & tam incredilis caussas in famosissimâ Ætna investigare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hîc verò præternaturalem imo infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile est? Cæterùm de Æthnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclæ incendio aliâs sentiat Munsterus.

Dubium non est, inquit, montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum : Et nostra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia : In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus foras projicit ingentia Saxa, evomit sulphur spargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, ut terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Ubi autem montium incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem meatuum, per quos modò, quasi fluvium quendam, ignes, modò flammas, nunc verò fumum tantùm evomunt. Sin per temporum intervalla increscunt, internis meatibus obturatis, ejus viscera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast ubi spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus iisdem vel aliis, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massas, quæ habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliàsque materias foras projicit, plerúnque non sine detrimento regionis adjacentis. Hæc Munsterus. Ubi videas quæso Lector, quomodo suo se jugulet gladio, videas inquam hîc eandem de incendio Heclæ & AEtnæ opinionem & sententiam, quæ tamen lib. 4. ejusdem, admodum est dispar, ut illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

Munsterus Cosmograph. universal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

[I. 525.]

Habet profectò Indiæ occidentalis mons quidam flammivomus æquiores multò, quàm hic noster, censores & historicos, minimè illic barathrum exædificantes : Cujus historiam, quia & brevis est, & non illepida, subjiciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar. novi orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.

Triginta quínque, inquit, milliarium intervallo abest Legione mons flammivomus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos sæpe flammarum globos eructat, ut noctu latissimè ultra 10000. passuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaque Dominicanus quidam monachus, cum ejus rei periculum facere vellet, ahenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, moxque in montis jugum cum quatuor aliis Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta ulnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis

fervore, ahenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum est. Monachus non leviter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incusat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multò, quàm jussisset ipse, esset fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incœpto similem exitum habuit. Nec tantùm resolutus lebes evanuit, verum etiam flammæ globus repentè è profundo exsiliens, propemodum & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem adeo perculsi in urbem reversi sunt, ut de eo incœpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent, &c.

O quam censura dispar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Islandiæ verò, infernum quærunt. Sed hoc ut nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortasse rejicient: Cur igitur eundem, quem in Hecla Islandiæ, animarum carcerem, in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte, cujus noctu diúque flamma immortalis perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur non in Ephesi montibus, quos tæda flammante tactos, tantum ignis concipere accepimus, ut lapides quoque & arenæ in ipsis aquis ardeant, & ex quibus accenso baculo, si quis sulcum traxerit, rivos ignium sequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu semper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Insula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aeolia, similiter in ipso mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accensa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu semper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teste Aristotele, ad quem non tutò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorum sonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur non in illa superius commemorata Teneriffæ pyramide montana, instar Aetnæ, jugiter ardente, & lapides, ut ex Munstero videre est, in aëra exspuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum jugo, quod Plinius testatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Vesuvio monte,

non sine insigni viciniæ clade, & C. Plinii exitiali detrimento, dum insueti incendii causas perscrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum saxis evomente, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiâm aëra replente, & solem meridianum per totam viciniam densissimis tenebris intercipiente? Dicam, & dicam quod res est: Quia scilicet illis, utpote notioribus, fidem, etsi inferni esse incendia finxissent, minimè adhiberi prævidebant: Heclæ verò æstum, cujus rumor tardius ad eorum aures pervenit, huic commento vanissimo stabiliendo, magis inservire putabant. Sed facessite: Depræhensa fraus est: Desinite posthac illam de inferno Heklensi opinionem cuiquam velle persuadere. Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis invitis, consimilibus incendiis, operationes suas Natura, non Infernus. Sed videamus jam plura ejusdem farinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Historicis & Cosmographis nostris adeò malè imposuerunt.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Juxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed apparent ipsum inspicientibus, homines primùm submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, ut ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis suspiriis se ad montem Heclam proficisci debere respondent: Sicque subitò evanescunt. *Frisius Zieglerus, Olavus Magn.*

AD confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi facilè largiar, Frisium non tam calumniandi, quàm nova & inaudita prædicandi animo ista scripsisse) quàm falsum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac [I 526.] detestabilius, excogitarunt homines ignavi, nec cœlum nec infernum scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri alioqui præclarissimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimium præpropero judicio secuti sunt.

Cæterum optandum esset, nullos tanto novitatis studio Historias scribere, ut non vereantur aniles quasvis nugas

iis inserere, atque ita aurum purum cœno aspergere. Qui verò demum sunt homines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente undas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrúmque nivalem, cantus exercentem lyricos, redivivum dabitis? Certè, etsi nolint alii futilem hujusmodi ineptiarum levitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnovit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æstimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cujus hæc sunt verba.

Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardétque non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per intervalla, ideoque persuasione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animæ. Alii, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabulæ, ut consona videantur. Quæ sunt autem illa inania? Quòd spectra comminiscuntur, se ad montem Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed ubique, licet rarò, talia contingunt: Subditque de larvâ homicida Historiam, quæ sic habet. Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito, funus viri plebeii Mediolani, orientali in porta juxta templum majus foro venali, quod à caulium frequentia nomen caulis nostra lingua sonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, ut medicorum moris est, quo morbo excesserit? Respondent ille: consuesse hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed à spectro captus atque in terram projectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larva volutatus esset, inventus à prætereuntibus quibusdam, semivivus domum relatus, cum resipuisset, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec sacerdotibus persuaderi potuisset, inania esse hæc, octo inde diebus periit. Audivi postmodum & ab aliis, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam constanter de illo testatum, ut hic, quod à mortuo fuisset in terram provo-

lutus. Cum quidam quærerent, quid ille postquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gulæ manibus, ut eum strangularet: Nec obstitisse quicquam, nisi quòd se ipsum tueretur manibus. Cum alii dubitarent, ne forte hæc à vivo passus esset, interrogaréntque in quo mortuum a vivo secernere potuisset? Caussam reddidit satis probabilem, dicens se tanquam cottum attrectasse, nec pondus habuisse, nisi ut premebatur. Et paulò post addit. Eadem verò ratione qua in Islandia, in arenæ solitudinibus Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæque, ubi Sol ardet, eædem imagines, eadem spectra viatores ludificare solent. Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluserit, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri faciunt, in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæque locis, carcerem existere damnatorum.

Hæc ex Cardano adscribere libuit, ut etiam extraneorum testimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Convincit autem præsens Cardani locus hæc duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandiæ proprias spectrorum apparitiones: (quod etiam omnes norunt, nisi ejus rei ignorantiam nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorum cum vivis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominum fabulis, quavis ampulla vanioribus, niti, quibus beluæ vulgares, ad confirmandam de animarum cruciatibus opinionem, usæ fuerant. Et quisquam est, qui illis scriptorum hiatibus, mortuorum miraculis ad summum usque refertis, adduci potest ut credat? Quisquam, qui vanitatem tantam non cotemnat? Certè. Nam & hinc convicia in gentem nostram rectè sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac projectius ac deterius esse usquam, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc commodi nobis peperit Historicorum ad res novas divulgandas aviditas. Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio, ut stulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium nostræ gentis conficta, hactenus, ut spero, satis labefactata est. Quare jam perge Lector, ulterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

[Sectio

SECTIO NONA.

Frisius & Munst. Circum verò Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat, glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla, & in glacie loca esse, in quibus animæ suorum crucientur.

EGregium scilicet Historiæ augmentum, de Orco Islandico in unius montis basin, haud sanè vastam, coacto: Et interdum (statis forsan temporibus) loca commutante. Ubi scilicet domi in foco montano delitescere piget, & exire, pelagúsque, sed sine rate, tentare juvat, seseque in glaciei frustella colligere. Audite porrò, hujus secreti admiratores: En porrigam Historicis aliud Historiæ auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his scriptorum commentis adhærent, Islandos non solùm infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingredi, atque intactos eodem die egredi. Quid ita? Quia pervetus est Insulæ consuetudo, ut maritimi [I. 527.] in hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem factam, manè phocas, seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Addite etiam, in scriniis & aliis vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asservari, ut paulò post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantiæ laudem vestris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (ut historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & velint & possint, illáque sine ullo graviore damno perrumpere atque effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex jam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiusculè à littore digressi, glacie à Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glaciei insidentes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus jactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex præsenti Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atque à Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora,

cum hoc suo glaciali navigio rursus adacti, incolumes domum pervenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie vivunt. Quare hoc novitatis avidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, justum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm ejusmodi jocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Cæterum, joco seposito, unde digressi sumus, revertamur.

Primùm igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, et si interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter undarum alluvionem, raucum murmur personat, quicquam tamen humanæ voci simile resonare aut ejulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in quibus animæ nostrorum crucientur, Id verò seriò pernegamus, Deóque ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœlestis januam nobis reseravit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animæ nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt isti Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elysios, sed in sinum Abrahæ, in manum Dei, in Paradisum cœlestem, mox ê corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, ubi est fletus & stridor dentium, ubi est frigus, ubi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostram scientiam & subtilem disputationem positus. Ubi non modò corpora sed animæ etiam. i. substantiæ spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniores, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuimus. Nec de hujus carceris loco sitúve quicquam disputare attinet: Sufficit nobis abundè, quòd illius tenebricosum fœtorem & reliqua tormenta, dante & juvante Domino

nostro Jesu Christo, cujus precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nunquam simus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hîc de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Frisius, Zieglerus Saxo fere similiter.

Quòd si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eámque vasi aut scrinio inclusam, quàm diligentissimè asservarit, illa tempore glaciei, quæ circum insulam est, degelantis, evanescit, ut neque minima ejus particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

ID profecto necessariò addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatem, & damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, ut reliqua in vastissima hac universitate omnia, ex Elementi alicujus materia conflatam. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisii paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac spectra & genii: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris naturæ, ut vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel cœlestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentiemur, quia ad aures nostras pervenit frigus infernale longè esse intractabilius, quam est hæc glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquam suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò spiritualem esse dabimus; accepimus enim à Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec iis quicquam decedere posse: Quæ tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumvis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Præterea & hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguendæ, non secus ac rivos terrestres, inservire: Id quod substantiæ spirituali denegatum est. Non est igitur spiritualis, ut nec infernalis. Jam verò cœlestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingunt, secum ê cœlo traxisse: Vel id cœlo, quippe

ejusdem materiæ cum glacie, commune esse, atque ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso cœlesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hæc Historica nec sit elementaris, ut ex præsenti loco Frisii optimè sequi jam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod utrúmque brevibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstravimus: nec cœlestis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, ut secundum eosdem Historicos nulla sit, quam tamen illi tàm cum stupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est: Quod axioma ubi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itáque jam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quàm monstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se permisit, sæpius errare. Cujusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei hujus Sympathiâ, quòd videlicet molis, cujus pars esset, discessum insequeretur, ut omnem observationis diligentiam inevitabili fugæ necessitate deciperet. Atqui sæpe vidimus ejusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quàm est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico. [I. 528.]

SECTIO UNDECIMA.

Non procul ab his montibus, (tribus prædictis) ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diversissimæ naturæ. Unus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim convertit in saxum, manente tamen priore formâ. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior & restinguendæ siti jucundissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus. *Frisius.*

ETiam hæc fontium topographia satis apertè monstrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur:

Montes hos tres prædictos ferè contiguos esse: Siquidem tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiscretè adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, uni alicui horum duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus invicem dissiti) neque juxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorum contrarietas. Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. Erumpunt ex eodem monte (Heclâ) fontes duo, quorum alter aquarum frigiditate, alter fervore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi duo sunt primi illi Frisii fontes, nisi quod hîc miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & juxta montem erumpere.

Hîc vero libenter quæsierim, quâ ratione quisquam ex Peripateticis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Unde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Unde iste fervor? Nonne è Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeò frigidissimum, ut ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, nec simplicem usibus humanis inservire? (Hæc ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo, vera an falsa, nescio.) Testis est unus omnium, & pro omnibus, Johannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologiæ, cap. 4. Sic, inquit, qualitates hæ (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis summæ obtigerunt, ut quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque levius: Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil gravius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida evincit, ut nec aërem, ullius humor. Summæ præterea sic illis insunt, ut ne minimum quidem possint augescere, remitti verò possint. Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Unum profecto hîc cavendum est, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant scriptores, ut glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes, creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adjuncta, quæ huc scriptores

pertraxerunt, ordine persequemur. Primus suo perpetuo calore) Plurimæ sunt in Islandia thermæ seu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum hujusmodi, ut a scriptoribus didici, passim abundet Germania, præcipuè in iis locis, quæ non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsuiliensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtembergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, unde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atque inquâm, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod ut incendii montani, ita fervoris aquei caussas indagarint Naturæ speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terræ venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, indéque non calorem solùm, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles libro de mundo. Continet, inquit, terra in se multos fontes, ut atquæ, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel ignescens ejiciunt ferrum: Nunc tepidæ aquæ erumpunt, nunc ferventissimæ, nunc temperatæ. Et Seneca: Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis opertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subjecti sint solo, per quod aquæ transitus est. Et scitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus. *Lib. 3. Nat. quæst.*

Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas [I. 529.]
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:
Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis
Ipsa monent, latè multùm tellure sub ima
Debacchari ignem, camposque exurere opertos.
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,
Unda fugax, tectis fervent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, Islandiæ fontes quosdam nunc ad summum excrescere, & exundare: Nunc adeò subsidere, ut vix fontes agnoscas.

Qui etsi rariores apud nos inveniuntur, adscribam tamen similes, etiam alibi à natura productos, ne quis hîc monstri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula unum, qui semper à tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio æstivo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluvium esse, qui omnibus Solstitiis æstivis exundet, brumali tempore siccetur. Refert etiam de fonte quodam satis largo, qui singulis horis intumescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire: ut Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscovia: Et quæ in Æsculapii fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaletico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, quæ in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, quæ consumi paulatim & intercidere constet: Eademque post intervallum reverti, recipereque & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluvium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 millia passuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his similia, Islandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continuò convertit in saxum. His duobus adjunctis, fervore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum suum fontem describit Frisius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontem in Islandia, non procul à sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, fontem quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides convertat, hominumque viscera indurescere, qui aquam ejus biberint: Et addit ejusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italiæ locis inveniri: quod Ovidius Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu juxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conversas esse,

atque, quod majus est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Brusonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis ejus, qui est in agro urbis Ursentinorum olim, nunc Contursii, lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non fide aliorum, sed propria, ut qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices autem lapidum, annos numero ostendere. Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis sparsæ lapidescunt. Et in Ungaria, Cepusii aqua, in urceos infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, ut in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum dejectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hîc est quòd quisquam sciat, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita ut vulgaribus rivis æstivo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem rivum commemorat, nive frigidiorem: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: quæ aqua cum fervere videatur, sit tamen longè frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neque id prorsus verum est. Non enim est ullus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inveniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, ut etiam ibidem non diversi saporis solùm, sed diversi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etsi autem tradunt Physici aquam naturaliter ex se neque saporem neque odorem habere, tamen, ut superius attigimus, verisimile est, quod alii per accidens vocant, eam sæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cujus venas transitum atque excursum habet: Atque hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapores, alios atque alios existere. Cujusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alii famem excitent, alii bibentes inebrient, alii memoriæ officiant, alii juvent eandem, alii vini saporem

& virtutem repræsentent: Ut ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Jan: vini sapore fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginensi, qui oleum præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræsentet. Item, Orcus fluvius Thessaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: Cujusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia esse, juxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfusum: Et in Suevia, juxta Cœnobium, cui Tergensche nomen est. Item, in valle montis Jurassi. Causam hujus rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, juxta locum Daschyli, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem. Aliam quoque juxta pontem, qua Valbeburgum itur. Jam aquarum vini saporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

Lib. de mirab. auscultat.

Lib. 2. de Element. [I. 530.]

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Unde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Est autem Naxus Insula una ex Cycladibus, in mari Ægeo. Causam hujus assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles commemorat Siciliæ fontem, quo incolæ loco aceti utantur. Idem saporum aquæ causam in calorem retulit, quòd terra excocta mutet & præbeat saporem aquæ.

Jam de aquæ coloribus ita Cardanus. Eadem est ratio colorum aquæ, ait, quæ & saporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem à Glauca, Misenæ oppido: Rubea, ut in Radera Misenæ fluvio, juxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Judæa juxta Joppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, juxta Neusolam: Cærulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Tarvisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluvio Saxoniæ, ubi in Visurgim se exonerat. Caussæ sunt argillæ colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Japygiam promontorium, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo fœtore navigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in

Idumæa fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore sic Cardanus. Similis ratio differentiæ est in odoribus. Plerumque tamen aquarum odores injucundi sunt, quòd rarò terra bene oleat. Pessimè olim fœtabat in Ælide, Anigri fluminis aqua, usque ad perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Juxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur. Hæc ideo recito, ut nullus magis in Islandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores odores, sapores, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidorus, esse fontem quendam, cujus aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: Juxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiæ, Styx (juxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi ungula continebatur: referunt ea sublatum Alexandrum magnum) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Idem, In Beroso Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio, sine dolore mortiferi: Et quod longè maximum est, quod Seneca stagnum esse dicat, in quod prospicientes statim moriantur. Nos verò Islandi etiam hunc quartum Frisii fontem, cujus etiam Saxo meminit, ut antehac semper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocque igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab ejusmodi fontibus & serpentibus, insectis venenatis, ac aliis pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea est apud prædictos fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munstero & Frisio ignivomi dicti, omnes longissimo intervallo à nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum juxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari ferè intervallo à fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, ut Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisii fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus sit, hactenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria

effossum esse arbitramur. Neque verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet penè unicum Insulæ mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes divisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc utitur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insulæ penditur.

Sulphur in boreali Islandiæ parte.

SECTIO DUODECIMA.

Munst. Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, ut ad altitudinem domorum sub aperto cœlo vendendi exponantur.

SUb aperto cœlo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naves mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiantque easdem rursus piscibus & reliquis nostratium mercibus onerare. An verò nostri homines id aliquando fecerint, non satis liquet. Certè copiosa illa & vetus piscium abundantia jam desiit, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis nostræ flagellum, quod utinam ritè agnoscamus, immittente.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Frisius. Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

QUidam in sua mappa Islandiæ, 20. millaria continuo cursu assequi tradit cujusdam parœciæ equos. Sed utrumque impossibile ducimus. Nam maximæ celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA. [I. 531.]

Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandiam aliquando conspiciuntur, quæ naves evertunt, nisi tubarum sono absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, ut nautæ in dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes, sæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete. *Munst.*

INstar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, ut dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tantò magis quantò minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei veræ narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

> Pictoribus atque Poëtis,
> Quodlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas:
> Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas putant: Nata est hæc fabula, ut & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, ut antiquo, ita ridiculo & vano, cujus ego fidem titivilitio non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Krantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papisticam, quæ tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam & divulgandam: Eosque, ubi immensum iter Septentrionem versus navigando consumpsissent, ad insulam quandam pervenisse: ibique jacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse, focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) & commeatum navalem ad reliquum iter expedivisse. Ast ubi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc

submersam citò evanuisse, nautas autem per præsentem scapham vix servatos fuisse. Habes hujus rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quàm incredibile, ipse vides. Quid verò tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, ut Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni studio, allisionem & naufragium metuentes, quàm ut in portu parum tuto quiescere tentent? Sed ubi anchora figenda? Solent enim, ut plurimùm, deesse nautis tam immensi funes, ut in altissimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigium unci prius effodiant. O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscentes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terrestri superficie internoscentes. Digni profectò, quibuscum ipse Munsterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, ut & superius, de miraculis Islandiæ terrestribus agens, è Tantali, ut aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea consectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec usquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Historiæ suæ supplementum studet: Ubi tamen nihil nisi commentitia tantùm venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne ultra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es linguæ nostræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim ejusmodi incœptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, ut vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis aliis autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, quæ penè sola vocis significationem facit, quod minimè verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem sive delectum significat, à verbo, Eg vel .i. eligo, vel deligo: unde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Unde tu Trollhualur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, ut tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo

in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Levis quidem illa in linguam nostram injuria, in unica tantùm voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem aliis etiam usu venit: Non enim probandum est, quòd quidam, dum Islandiæ descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontoriorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, tesquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina depravare (quòd nostræ linguæ ignarus, non sciret à nostratibus accepta satis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui tum temporis, id est, Anno 1585. in 1585. Academia Haffniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, ediscere. Ipsum certè hac nativorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria depravatione, (qua factum est, ut ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram & avitam penè elegantiam retinentem, non leviter peccasse reputamus.

Cæterum jam plurima Islandiæ miracula, quæ quidem scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic utcunque examinavimus. Sed tamen priusquam alio divertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Islandiæ, quam [I. 532.] sub suo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, præter supra dictos, fontibus Islandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras albo, inficiat. Quod quidem ubi acceperit, aut unde habeat, scire equidem non possumus: Nec enim apud nostrates, nec apud extraneos scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed undecunque est, fabula est, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamvis autem sit incredibile, Lanas nigras albo infici colore, cum traditum sit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen simile quiddam narratur à Theophrasto: Flumen esse in Macedonia, quod oves nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cujus etiam superius memini, rapsodia Noruagica, speculum scilicet illud Regale, hos ipsos fontes Irlandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Islandiæ esse affirmat. Quod forsan Lectori imposuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R̃, S, legenti.

Non majorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet: Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium prærupta non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria nativaque motione pervolitet: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, ut nullum ejus simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) constet: Nisi fortè hominem, qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse. Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiam miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moveri vel ambulare, tamen ad salvandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicunque Islandiæ, corvos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures adscripserunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, sicut etiam ursos (sed hos sæpius quam vultures) & cornicum quodam genus, Islandis Isakrakur, advenire observatum est. Picas verò & lepores, ut & corvos albos, nunquàm Islandia habuit.

Atque hæc ferè sunt, quæ de prima commentarii nostri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præsentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me scripta sunt, (quod etiam prius testatus sum,) ut scriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neque enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quòd veritati & patriæ, operam meam consecraram, illa, quæ hactenus dicta sunt à multis, de Insula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, necesse habui ostendere: ac ita mihi viam ad sequentia de Incolis sternere.

Commentarii primæ partis Finis.

Commentarii de Islandia pars secunda: quæ est de incolis.

ABsolutis hactenus miraculis Islandiæ, (cum nonnullis aliis, primæ parti annexis) quæ dum scriptores, velut Agamemnonios quosdam fontes, imò, ut quiddam præter & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipsi, & authoritati suæ consulunt; monet propositæ orationis series, ut ad alteram commentarii partem nos conferamus, quæ est de incolis: Ubi quid primùm dicam, aut unde initium sumam, non satis teneo. Tanta enim sunt in nos ultimos Islandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui simplicissimam veritatem profiteri volunt, nempe historicorum) ut si singula recensere velim, non aliud quàm

Icariæ numerum dicere coner aquæ. Sed, ut dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè stricto jure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius, & alii, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studiis liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etsi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leve est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles & ridiculas proposuisse, cujusmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hactenus exposuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cujusmodi jam sequentur aliquot, in historias retulisse. Ast aliis, quicunque sunt, qui quotidianus conviciis nationem Islandorum incessunt, responsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex quorum numero, scurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis nostræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortali dedecori consecravit.

Quapropter, ut instituti nostri ratio exigit, dum scriptorum de hac re monumenta persequimur, etsi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos

Secundæ partis distributio.

tamen plæraque excutiemus, & errores, ut hactenus, annotabimus: tum si quid veri interea attulerint, id nequaquam dissimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, & si qui sunt alii, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum suis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in postremum, ut dignus est, rejecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide seu Religione Islandorum: Deinde de ipsorum moribus, institutis seu vivendi ratione, authores isti scribunt.

1. *Capitis hujus partis divisio.*

[I. 533.]

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi 1070. vidit ad Christum conversos Islandos: licet ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali viventes, non multùm à lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinavit quendam virum sanctum, primum Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christianæ dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentque & se, & veritate dignum, nisi eandem aliâs nobis adimerent. Nam (ut de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, quæ supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omninò est à Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, quæ Deus sibi soli reservavit, quæque voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, ubi locus vel situs inferni seu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipsius, adeoque damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur: Nullum inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut ulla alia hujus mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimò, terram hanc interituram, & terram novam & cœlos novos, justorum & sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2. Petri 3. Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeò abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illustribus scripturæ sacræ testimoniis stabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut aliis

tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum dissidet Munst. dum quos Christianos asserit, inferni architectos aliàs facit: Item, Krantzius & Munsterus, dum quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem omni pietatis & honestatis sensu exuunt: quòd scribant filios ab his, non majore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed ut ad rem: De Religione equidem nostra, quæ qualisve fuerit, cum Ethnicismus primùm fugari cæpit, nihil magnificè dicere possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, uti existimo, de suis fidei initiis. Fatendum enim est, & cum seriis gemitibus deplorandum usque ad illam nunquam satis prædicatam diem, quæ nobis velut immortalitatis initium illuxit & repurgati Evangelii doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquam Cimmerias, etiam nostris hominibus, ut reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesiis, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen piè nobis sentire liceat, apud nos, ut & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo ultra septa vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquam pronunciare) ejecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriorem longè & simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectam, quam posteà, ubi auctum Romanæ sedis fermentum pestiferum, & malum contagiosum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus suum diffudit: Nam ut posteà apparebit, multis annis antequam nova Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: & ut laudatissimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus ut commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium & professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus est, & primus, ut accepimus, Noruegis Christum obtrusit:

quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctum Haraldi F. Qui anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperii habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ Stickla Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi 1000 vixit in prædio seu villa Berthors huol, sita in Parochia Islandiæ, Landenum: Quique rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate & consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, ejus seculo, indomitis Islandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si ultimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeò studiosè seditiones & turbas vitavit: aliosque vitare aut evadere cupientes optimè juvit: Nec quisquam ejus consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est unquam usus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, ut valde mirandum sit, unde homini tanta futurorum eventuum, & tam certa conjectura & consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Unde ipsius cauta, providens & consilii plena sapientia, apud nostrates in proverbium abiit: Nials biita raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium: vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cum quid prudenter & admirando cum consilio gestum est.

[I. 534.] Hic cum domi suæ, à 100. viris conjuratis ob cædem à filio ipsius, ipso tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, & inimicis domum undique igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate divina accidunt. Cæterum spem & fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se & uxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum

flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicque inter has voces & flammarum sævitiam, vitam, An. Christo 1010. cum uxore & filio homicida, finivit. Vox profectò filiis Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, ut ostendam quâ conjectura adducar ad existimandum mox initio Christianismi (ut sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc nostra tempora fuerunt.

Ast verò jam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, & Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, & pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiúmque nostrarum gravi veterno & densa caligine excussis, dextræ suæ digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicavit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes & singuli credimus & confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Johan. 4. vers. 24. æternum Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Jerem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) optimum (Matth. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Unum essentia & natura: Unum providentia: unum efficientia rerum & administratione (Deut. 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis divinitatis, proprietatibúsque distinctum, Patrem, Filium & spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam divinitatis personam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem & gubernatorem (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. & sequent:) & nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Jesum Christum, secundam divinitatis personam, filium Dei patris (Johan. 1. 18. &c.) Unigenitum (Johan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13. Johan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Johan. 1. 2. &c.) ante omnia creata præordinatum (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) & statim post lapsum,

promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, ut Abrahæ (Gen. 12. 3 &c.) Isaac. (Gen. 26. 4.) Jacob. (Gen. 28. 14.) & promissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10) Sacrificiis Mosaicis (Levit. 1. 2. &c.) Et aliis typis præfiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione ænei serpentis, (Num. 21.) Jona (Jon. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esai 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Johan. 1. 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter justificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Johan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum (qui tertia est divinitatis persona patri & filio compar & consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam æternam sanctificantem (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis è cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Judicare vivos & mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impiis secundum opera sua, eósque pœnis æternis adjudicaturum (Mat. 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipsius æterna vita donaturum (Mat. 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Jesum Christum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) & Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosque illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismum illi insertos esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) apertè, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac contestamur: omnesque alios, quicunque aliud nomen sub cœlo datum esse hominibus, per quod salvi fiant, comminiscuntur, seriò detestamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum unicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abjectis & spretis, infallibilem fidei nostræ regulam & amussim nobis proponimus: (Galat. 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris & novi appellatione complectimur.

Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari & immensa Dei bonitate in hunc usque diem semper in Ecclesia conservatum & conservandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. ult. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vastissimo intervallo à reliquo Ecclesiæ corpore divulsos & ultimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum ad revelationem gentium, & paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radiis suis saluificis illuminat ac fovet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breviter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, & nostra religio, quam monstrante spiritu Sancto, & ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, hausimus : idque ex fontibus Israëlis.

Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conversos Islandos. [I. 535.]

DUbium nobis est, utrum his verbis dicere voluerit Krantzius, Islandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Christum esse conversos : an verò, prius quidem esse conversos non neget, sed eo primùm anno id Adalberto innotuisse dicat. Utrumvis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipsius hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales & Chronologiæ nostræ gentis antiquissimæ, quæ contrarium testantur : quibus utrum malis, de rebus nostris propriis & domesticis & intra nostræ insulæ limites gestis credere, an verò Krantzio, aut cuivis alteri in nostratium rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor ut nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates enim nota tantùm & ferè domestica asserunt ; ille peregrina & ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula & sugillatione contexuerunt tantummodò, ut rebus gestis suum verum temp⁹ seu æram assignarent ; ille quædam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliam gentis nostræ igno-

Krantzius.

Chronologiæ Islandicæ gentis antiquissimæ.

tissimæ, historiæ suæ admiscuit, ut paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporum Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & successum describunt: ille unius tantùm mentionem facit, ídque longè secus quàm res habet. Porrò ut his fidem faciam, pauca, quæ in vetustissimis nostris annalibus de Islandia ad Christum conversa, & de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesiis successione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametsi leviuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna quæ scribantur, scribenda tamen omninò sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, adversus Krantzium & alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent.

Vetustissimi annales.

874. *Islandia primum inhabitata.*

Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, ut ante commemoravimus, inventa, sed tunc primum à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cujus nomine promontorium Islandiæ orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellationem traxit) occupata est Islandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & præterea numerosa familia nominatim in annalibus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus describitur, sed quas oras, quæ littora, & quæ loca mediterranea, singuli occupaverint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portubus, Isthmis, porthmis, promontoriis, rupibus, scopulis, montibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, rivis, ac denique villis seu domiciliis suis nomina dederint, quorum hodiè plæraque retinentur & in usu sunt, apertè narratur. Itaque Noruagi occupatæ jam Islandiæ 60. annorum spacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes sua multitudine implent: Centum verò propemodum annis Ethnici manserunt, si paucissimos, qui in Noruagia fortè sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi cœptum est, nempe circa annum

974. Domini 974. quæ res non sine insigni rebellione plusquam 20. annis variè à multis tentata est. Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum aliis, in convertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno

Fredericus Saxo.

981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenuè functus est, ac tantum fecit, ut Anno 984. sacræ ædes Islandis in usu fuerint.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus sive concionator, quem Thangbrandt nuncupavere, anno 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Hinc post 26. annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conventu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, universali eorundem consensu, ut Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam. *Anno Dom.* 1000.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conventu Anno 1050. sancitum est, ut leges seculares seu politicæ (quarum constitutiones allatas ex Noruagia quidam Ulfliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) ubique cederent juri Canonico seu divino.

Anno 1056. abit peregrè ex Islandia Isleifus quidam, in Episcopum Islandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, & Cathedram Schalholtensem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Ætatis 74. 4. Kalendas Julias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis fortè quæ sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzii & aliorum errores convincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certè, quantum ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse: Cujus, in præfatione suæ Daniæ, hæc sunt verba. Nec Thylensium inquit, (sic enim Islandos appellat) industria silentio obliteranda: qui cum ob nativam soli sterilitatem, luxuriæ nutrimentis carentes, officia continuæ sobrietatis exerceant, omniáque vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriæque mandare, voluptatis loco reputant, non minoris gloriæ judicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesauros Historicarum

rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud parvam præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tanta vetustatis peritia callere novi. Hæc Saxo. Quare
[I. 536.] lubet Episcoporum Islandiæ Catalogum persequi, ut ex annalibus nostris continuata diligenter, quoad ejus fieri potest, omnium series, his quæ de primo Isleifo contra Krantzium attulimus, fidem faciat.

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	II Gysserus.	I Jonas Augmundi F.	
1082	Ordinatur peregrè.	Isleifi discipulus.	
1083	Redit in Islandiam cum Episcopatu.	Ordinatur peregrè: anno ætat. 64. cognomentum illi, sanctus: cujus memoriæ dies 3. Martii, apud Islandos est antiquitùs dicatus.	1106
1118	Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.		
	III Thorlacus Runolphi. F.	Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.	1121
Anno ætatis 32:	Ordinatur eodem anno, quo prædecessor Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.	II Ketillus sive Catullus.	
		Ordinatur.	1122
1133	Moritur.	Moritur.	1145
	IIII Magnus.	III Biorno.	
1134	Ordinatur.	Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.	1147
1148	Postridiè festi omnium Sanctorum in villa sacerdotali Hiitardal convivans, cænaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis absumptus est.	Moritur.	1162
		IIII Brandus.	
		Ordinatur.	1163
		Cathedram adit.	1165
		Moritur.	1201
	V Klaingus.	V Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.	
1151	Eligitur.		
1152	Cathedram adit.	Eligitur & ordinatur.	1203
1176	Moritur.	Moritur.	1237

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holtenses.	Anno Christi.
	VI Thorlacus.	VI Botolphus.	
	Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædecessoris	Redit ordinatus.	1239
		Moritur.	1246
1178	Ordinatur.		
1193	Moritur.		
	VII Paulus	VII Henricus.	
		Cathedram adit.	1247
1195	Ordinatur.	Moritur.	1260
1211	Moritur.		
	VIII Magnus.	VIII Brandus.	
		Abbas peregrè abit.	1262
1216	Ordinatur.	Cathedram adit.	1263
		Moritur.	1264
	IX Siguardus.		
1239	Cathedram adit.	IX Jorundus.	
1268	Moritur.	Cathedram adit.	1267
		Moritur.	1313
	X Arnerus.		
1269	Cathedram adit.	X Audunnus.	
1298	Moritur.	Cathedram adit.	1314
		Moritur.	1322
	XI Arnerus Helgonis F.		
1304	Ordinatur.	XI Laurentius.	
1305	Cathedram adit.		
1309	In Noruagiam abit ligna à rege Noruagiæ petiturus, quibus templum Schalholtense reædificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagrarat.	Eligitur & ordinatur.	1324
		Moritur Idib. April.	1331
		XII Egillus.	
		Cathedram adit.	1332
		Moritur.	1341
1310	Redit ex itinere.		
1320	Moritur.		
	XII Jonas Haldorus.	XIII Ormus.	[I. 537.]
		Cathedram adit.	1343
1321	Eligitur.	Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.	1355
1322	Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.		
1323	Cathedram adit.		
1338	Moritur. [XIII	[XIIII	

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XIII	XIIII	
1339	Jonas Indridi F. Noruagus.	Jonas Erici F. cognomento Skalle.	
1341	Cathedram adit. Moritur.	Cathedram Holensem aditurus venit in Islandiam. Hic Jonas, olim in Episcopum Gronlandiæ ordinatus, à Pontifice Romano impetravit, ut liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Unde cum confirmationem hujus dignitatis ac muneris, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœcesis Holensis, suspectæ fidei esse cœpit. Quare ab iisdem in Noruagiam relegatus est, ut ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus favente Cathedram Holensem obtinuit.	1358 Gronlandiæ Episcopus.
	XIIII Jonas Siguardi F.		
1343	Cathedram adit		
1348	Moritur pridiè Divi Magni.		
	XV Gyrthus.		1356
1349	Ordinatus Asloiæ Noruagorum, ab Episcopo Asloensi Salomone.		
1356	Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.		
	XVI Thorarinnus		
1362	Cathedram adit.		
1364	Moritur.		
	XVII Oddgeirus.		
1366	Cathedram adit.		
1381	Moritur in Assumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu Noruagiæ Bergensi, è mercium acervo in imum navis delapsus. Sepultus Bergis in æde Salvatoris.	Moritur.	1391
	XVIII Michaël Danus.	XV Petrus. Ordinatur, quo anno prædecessor rebus mortalium exemptus est.	
1385	Cathedram adit.	Cathedram adit Holensem.	1392
1388	Resignat profectus in Daniam.	Moritur.	
	XIX. Wilhelmus Danus.	XVI Jonas Wilhelmus, Anglus, sive genere, sive cognomine, præfuit Ecclesiæ Holensi.	
1394	Cathedram adit. Moritur.		1432

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XX Arnerus.	XVII Godschalcus.	
	Hîc cognomento fuit Milldur. i. liberalis. Gessit una præfecturam Islandiæ totius: Episcopatum Scalholtens. & vice Episcopatum Holensem.	Moritur.	1457
		XVIII	
		Olaus Rogwaldi F. prædicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, uterque, Noruagus, eligitur.	1458
1420	Obiit.	Moritur.	1497
	XXI Jonas Gerickson.	XIX Godschalcus.	
1432	Suecus sive cognomento sive natione præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi: ac posteà ob quædam nimis audacter tentata, à quodam Thorvaldo de Modruvollum (ut fama est) captus, & alligato ad collum saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui à ponte nomen habet, vivus submersus & strangulatus est.	Demortui Olai nepos ex fratre, & ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patruus decessit.	
		Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter exercuisse fertur.	1500
		Anno 1520. cum inter pocula & voluptates convivales versaretur audirétque obiisse Jonam Sigismundum, quem cum uxore & liberis multos annos crudelissimè vexaverat, in subitum morbum repentè incidit, & sic paulò post, eam, qua in tota vita in miseros subditos usus est, vim cum miserabili morte commutavit.	
	XXII Gosuinus.		
1445	Præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi.		
	XXIII Sueno.		
1472	Dictus sapiens præest.		
	XXIIII Magnus Eiolphi F.		[I. 538.]
1489	Præest.		
	[XXV	[XX	

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXV Stephanus.	XX Jonas Aræsonius.	
1494	Cathedram adit. Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementiæ & justiciæ laudem reportavit.	Cathedram adit: etiam hic Papisticarum superstitionum ultimus & acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gyssero & Martino episcopis Scalholtiæ acriter resisteret, à pientiss. Rege Christiano tertio jubetur sub pœna exilii protinus in Daniam adventare. Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtiæ Episcopum custodiæ mandavit. Tandem & ipse à viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius ut fertur, lacessiverat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus, ibidem cum filiis duobus, authoritate regii præfecti, capitis supplicio affectus est. In cujus ultionem, non multò post præfectus ille regius, cum sociis aliquot, à quibusdam sicariis, decollatorum olim famulis, nefariè occisus est.	1525
1519	Moritur: aut circiter.		
	XXVI Augmundus.		1548
	Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.		1550
1522	Cathedram adit. Hoc episcopo, præfectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam invitatus, in ipso convivio à conjuratis quibusdam interfectus est, eò quòd impiè passim in incolas & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus verò tanquam istius cædis author, quanquam se juramento purgarat, in Daniam transvectus, Obiit.		1551
	XXVII Gysserus.		
1540	Eligitur vivente Augmundo.		
1541	Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa conjugium sacerdotum: Ejus nuptiæ Schalholtiæ celebratæ.		
1544			

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXVIII Martinus.	XXI Olaus Hialterus.	
1547	Præest, & sequentibus.	Abit patria.	1552
		Cathedram adit.	1553
	XXIX Gislaus Jonas.	Hic primus sincerioris doctrinæ apud Holenses amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc prædecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertiùs docuit & propugnavit.	
	Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo, cœpit juvenis veræ pietatis & purioris doctrinæ Evangelicæ studio, & amore flagrare, eandemque pastor ecclesiæ Selardalensis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorum odium adeò in se derivavit, ut illorum insidiis ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, unde Haffniam Danorum profectus, in cœpto veræ Theologiæ studio strenuè pergens, in multorum, præcipuè verò in summa D. D, Petri Palladii tum temporis Episcopi, familiaritate & gratia vivebat. Postea, inde in patriam	Moritur.	1568
1556	reverso, Martinus sponte	XXII Gudbrandus Thorlacius.	
1587	cessit. Moritur & hic 31. annos plus minus Evangelium Jesu Christi professus: nec tantum viva voce, sed & quocunque demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re & consilio Ecclesiam Dei juvit & promovit.	Ille non modò suæ ætatis, sed & posteritatis ornamentum. Qui præterquam quod inchoatum opus à prædecessore Olao sibi relictum ducente S. S. optimè ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem, deduxit: (Dico labores & diligentiam in asserenda veritate Evangelica, & papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis typis Islandica	
	[XXX	[lingua	

Anno Christi.	Episcopi Schalholtenses.	Episcopi Holenses.	Anno Christi.
	XXX	lingua in officina ipsius excusa, in æternum debebit.	
	Otto Enerus, vir gravis, pius & eruditus.		
1588	Electus abit patria.	Hic inquam Episcopus præsens, officium suscepturus.	
1589	Ordinatur:		
	Redit & cathedram adit, susceptíque muneris labores aggreditur.	Abiit:	1570
		Redit & Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.	1571

[I. 539.] CIrca hæc igitur tempora mentibus nostris è cœlo reddita lux est, & regni cœlestis janua per sinceriorem doctrinæ Christianæ expositionem reserata. Nam & Schola trivialis in utraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Daniæ Christiani tertii munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est: ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Divo Friderico secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad cœlestem patriam evocato, aucta & promota: quæ etiam hodiè, clementissimi regis & principis nostri, Christiani 4. favore & nutu viget florétque: in qua juventus nostræ Insulæ, artium dicendi & sacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad scientiam & veram pietatem formatur, ut hinc ministri Ecclesiarum petantur.

Pervenimus tandem ad hodiernum usque diem in Episcoporum Islandiæ catalogo: quo prædicti viri clarissimi Dom. Gudbrandus Thorlacius, & Dom. Otto Enerus ille Holis, hic Schalholtiæ Ecclesiarum sunt antistites: quorum utrumque, ut Deus opt. max. Ecclesiæ suæ salvum & superstitem, propter gloriam nominis sui sanctissimi, diu conservare velit, omnes seriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECUNDA.

Specus habitant plerúmque, aut ad montium latera in excavatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa & domos ex ossibus piscium & balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cavernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad solis æstum vitandum. Item Munsterus. Multi in Islandia hodie costis & ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c. *Munst. Krantz. Frisius.*

HIc membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum vivendi ratione & moribus. Et primùm, quibus utantur edificiis seu domibus: nempè secundum Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specubus & montium cavernis. Quamvis autem in splendidis ædificiis, aliisque id genus mundani ornatus pretiosis rebus parum inest, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere possumus: dicimúsque omnino Cosmographos & Historicos in errore etiam hîc versari. Etenim, cujusmodi gentis publica domicilia esse scribunt, ea sunt tantùm in paucis locis, tum magalia, ut opilionum, tum piscatorum casæ & receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piscaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipsas domus, seu ipsa hominum domicilia, antiquitùs quidem satis magnificè & sumptuosè, quoad hujus terræ fert conditio, ligno, cespite & saxis habuerunt Islandi constructa, usque ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna sufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio esse desiit, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cùm nec sylvas ædificiis aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio jam ut olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte sufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ nostræ succurrant. Unde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, & jam quædam collapsa sunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa sunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facilè recensuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus sunt maximæ, & *Negotiatio cum Noruagia desiit.* *Sylvæ fluctibus maris delatæ.*

latæ & longæ, tum plærúmque benè altæ. Ut exempli gratia. Prædia seu villæ, quæ cubilia habent plusquam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, ut cœnaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. huic sua proportione respondentes. Possum multa nostratium ædificia ampla & vasta, nec in speciem deformia, nec ob artis structuram & sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnenda cum aliquot delubris, sive sacris ædibus, solis lignis, antiqua & operosa gravitate & pulchritudine exstructis commemorare: Cujusmodi est templum Cathedrale Holense atrium habens, cujus columnæ utrinque quinque, ulnas 14. altæ, 5. circiter crassæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. Fridericus, cujus nobis sacratissima est memoria, Anno 1588. benignissimè largitus est. Ipsum verò templum atrium suum omni quantitate manifestè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari solet, & templi meditullio, & atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè majus olim, ut accepi Schalholtense, quod jam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum est. Prætereà aliquot alia templa nostræ Insulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, ut in prolixiorem ejus rei descriptionem evager. Ut enim Domus & ædificia nostra nihil deprædicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quòd contenti paupertate nostra Christo gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis vili tecto non dedignatur recipi, quódque templa & domus nostras, quas Munsterus, Krantzius, & Frisius piscium & balenarum ossibus non verè dicunt exstructas, non aspernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pavimenta tesselata reliquúmque id genus ornamenti.

SECTIO TERTIA. [I. 540.]

Communi tecto, victu, statu, (hîc Krantzius habet, strato) gaudent cum jumentis. Item: Solo pastu peccorum & nunc captura piscium victitant. *Munsterus. Krantzius.*

HAec sunt & sequentia, quæ Krantzius suo Munstero præmansa, in os ingessit, adeò ut Munstero non opus fuerit ea vel semel masticare, quod ex collatione utriúsque patet. Munsterus enim hæc opprobria, ut ex Krantzii in suam Noruegiam præfatione hausta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Cosmographiæ capit 8. in gentem nostram evomit. Quæ hactenus fuerunt, etsi satis gravia sunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum malignissimum, & quâe sequentur, non facilè est sine stomacho præterire. Nostrum igitur est, etiam hîc veritatem asserere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primùm igitur quod de communi tecto, (uti etiam de victu & statu) cum jumentis dicunt, falsum & erroneum clamamus, teste non modò re ipsa, si quis id hodiè perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos & habitationes nostras viderunt, & norunt in singulis prædiis seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abjectissimis & vilissimis 7. vel 8. in majoribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; quæ ut plurimùm, & tecto & parietibus distinctæ, uni possessori vel domino, rarò duobus aut tribus, rarissimè pluribus inserviunt, ac usibus quotidianis & domesticis sufficiunt. Unde facilè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè eodem tecto cum jumentis utantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bovilia, ovilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis intervallis dissita habeant, quæ servi, quoties opus est, petunt, unde rursus habitationem subinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Islandiæ de provincia Skagefiord annotavit, sub eodem tecto homines, canes,

sues & oves, vivere, partim falsum, partim minimè mirandum est. De ovibus quidem, ut jam dictum est, & præcipuè suibus (cum illa provincia sues non habeat) falsum : De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aulæ carverint nec hodiè careant, ut nimis omnibus est notum. Sed de canibus paulò post. Sect. 7. hujus.

Victu. An jumentorum pabula possint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritò dubitaverim : Cùm Doletus, Ciceronis interpretem agens, dicat : Victum, inquit, cum jureconsultis, ita exponemus, ut victus verbo contineantur, quæ esui, potui, cultuíque corporis, quæque ad vivendum homini sunt necessaria. Et Ulpianus, de verborum significat. Iisdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam jumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hîc eluceat veritatis & candoris præstantia. Jumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boves : His gramina & fœnum (nisi ubi fœni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ovillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & adventitio, vivere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen iidem his verbis asserunt : Communi victu gaudent cum jumentis : Quod quid sit Munstero, ipse paulò superius haud obscurè docuit. Islandia, inquit, populos multos continet, solo pecorum pastu, & nunc captura piscium victitantes. Quid autem est pecorum pastus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus ? ait Doletus : nisi Munsterus fortè pecorum pastum, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum mactata appellet : cui, ut existimo, usus Romanorum refragatur, qui, ut homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit : hominúmque victum, pecorum autem, pastum & pabulum vocari jussit. An verò existimem tam dementes fuisse Munsterum & Krantzium, ut senserint Islandos graminibus & fœno vivere ? Quo miseriæ Nabuchodonozor, divinæ ultionis jugum subiens, redactus est, Dani. 4. 30. Facilè dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò nostrates, sed vestrates quoque vescuntur, jumenta & pecora fortè non rejicere,

si familiari pabulo destituantur. Ut equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis pascuntur : iidem lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli & agni) & cerevisiam, si offeratur, bibunt, & quidem avidè. Sed & canes quævis fercula & cibaria devorant. An idcircò quisquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus & jumentis gaudere ?

Jam quæcunque famis grassantis tempore contigêre, pro universali gentis alicujus consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Ut non licet nobis de extraneis scribere, hujus aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium usu victitare solitos, etsi fortè fame, sive obsidione, sive alioqui annonæ charitate invalescente immissa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum esse multis cum jumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus : nempè aquam limpidissimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum : quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ consulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipse Servator noster fastidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum victus vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum [I. 541.] jumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod Munsterum & Krantzium novisse jurarim) vestivit : homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem Islandia suppeditat, ex lanis ovium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò rectè dici, amictum esse nobis cum ovibus communem, sive eundem. Utuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ovilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil : Stultum enim est, ex eo laudem vel superbam æstimationem quærere, quod naturæ nostræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cujusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certè non facilè assequor. Status, inquit Doletus, est vel corporis, vel causarum, vel ordinis & conditionis. Certè alium esse statum nostri corporis, quàm jumentorum (nam præter duos pedes

etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri, si id de se aut aliis cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia nostrum est, nec amori patriæ, nec ulli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper & ubique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit, quod huic infami scriptorum convicio occasionem fortè dederit.

Occasio harum fabularum.

Sunt in vicinia Schalholtiæ, ad littus Islandiæ australe, parœchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa & Olffwis Aa interceptæ; quæ & sylvis & cespitibus, consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè destituuntur. In istis parœchiis habitantes, & si qui sint vicini, quamvis plures eorum, ut de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, sibi opportunè prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam, sed infimæ tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam istis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis fœno ad coquendos cibos utuntur: Ast ubi hyemis nivosæ sævitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bovile refugiunt, illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interdiù operas domesticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem mutuantur, quemadmodum mihi ab aliis narratum est. Sícque illi tantùm, qui sanè paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus tecto, in bruma, uti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verùm victum & statum longè alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hæc est in istis Parœchiolis quorundam sors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamvis non satis justè. Ubi, quo jure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libenter quæsierim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantùm quia mihi cum Theologis res est, illud Salomonis iis reponam. Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem ejus.

Proverb. 14.

Equidem quia gens hæc nostra pauper & egena est

& fuit, ac veluti quidam mendicus inter divites, tot extraneorum probra & scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex iisdem constamus elementis, & unus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QUARTA.

Krantzius. Munster.

In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cujus paupertati nullus invidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam evehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoque nostra invexerunt. Nam & fruges aquæ miscere in potum didicerunt, & simplicis aquæ haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum nostris admirantur.

SImplicitate. Equidem sanctæ simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quòd reperiatur etiam apud nos justitiæ ac legum ingens depravatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur; quod pii & boni omnes quotidiè deplorant. Id mali autem nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed verius nostrapte culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipso præposterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad majestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porrò, non solùm Angli & Dani, sed maximè Germani, ut nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces avehendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum frugum aquæ, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Noruagi primi, quòd nobis constet, terræ nostræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteósque nummos, secum ex Noruegia attulerunt; ut initio non fuerit minor argenti & auri usus apud nos, quàm est hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumvè frequentes ad nos navigationes, terra nostra multò, quàm

nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, cœlo solóque per-
[I. 542.] sentiens, fertilior, in delectissimis quibúsque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

SECTIO QUINTA.

Munsterus. Krantzius. Rex Daniæ qui & Noruagiæ quotannis præfectum immittit genti.

ANno Domini 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui
858. deinde Anno 858. Rex Noruagiæ designatus, ubi ætas virésque justum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperii Noruagici mutavit. Nam antea in minutas provincias divisum (quas Fylki vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genere & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quàm ipsius Tyrannidis jugum non detrectare maluerunt. Unde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem à quibusdam visam & inventam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostræ originem præbentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamvis Rex Noruagiæ Haquinus ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagiæ diutissimè, nempe plusquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, sæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini
1260. 1260. homagium ipsi præstarent. Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, & regibus Noruagiæ parentes,
Margareta. translato per Margaretam, Daniæ, Sueciæ, & Noruagiæ reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, unà cum reliquis imperii Noruagici Insulis, Serenissimum Daniæ regem; Dominum & Regem suum hodiè salutant.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Omnia inter eos communia sunt, præter uxores. *Krantzius. Munsterus.*

HOc loco præmittit Krantzius talem Ironiam. Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porrò etiam hîc fidem vestram elevat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis proclive, cupidinem novitatis, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam præposteram arguit, omnium & rerum personarúmque, & temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis usi sunt eisdem Islandi: De Rege & subditis: De foro, & his quæ in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptiis, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorsum illis, quibus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac judiciis Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Daniæ & olim Noruagiæ, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controversias, olim & nunc interpellati sæpè fuerant. Testis contra seipsum Krantzius, cujus verba distinction. i. hujus, hæc fuerunt. Ante susceptam Christi fidem (Islandi) lege naturali viventes parum à lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa justitiæ, quæ tribuit unicuique suum: Si lege justitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, & quidem satis atrociter, sæpè delinquitur: tamen & Ecclesia & Ethnici justissimam & optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

[Sectio

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Nisi quòd à pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quàm catulum, &c.

QUamvis principio hujus commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum & alios magni nominis viros, in iis, quæ de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hîc, etiam à candidissimo & maximè sincero quocunque fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim movit tantos viros, ut Nautarum malevolas nugas & mendacia secuti, tam atroci & contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularéntque? Nihil profectò, nisi secura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & si quæ sunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nôrint omnes non tam Islandis, quàm ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulant, efficiunt unà, ut alibi quoque suspectæ fidei habeantur. Illúdque quod ait Aristoteles, lucrantur, ut cum vera dixerint, illis sine suspitione non credatur.

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecúmque gravi-
[I. 543.] tatem & sapientiam tantorum virorum expende: Ne tantum Islandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus. Docuerunt hactenus Krantzius & Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vixisse eos in sancta simplicate. Adesdum igitur Lector, & quas Christianismi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorum sanctæ simplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, & in Islandis monstrent ac depingant,
1 perpende. Una fuit supra, quòd infernum sive carcerem damnatorum montis Heclæ voragine & radicibus circumscribant Islandi; de quo vide Sect. I. hujus: &
2 sect. 7. prior. part. Altera nota, quòd, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones tollant:

de quo Sect. præced. Tertia eáque longè excellentissima hæc est: illi præclari affectus naturales, amor, cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Islandorum in liberos, quòd videlicet ejusdem precii sint apud illos canes & filii, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis Munstere & Krantzi Legem Christi, naturæ, Germanorum, & sanctam simplicitatem depingitis? O picturam præclaram & excellentem, quamvis non prorsus Apellæam: O Inventum acutum & admirandum, si benè authenticum: O scientiam plusquàm humanam, etsi non prorsus divinam. 3

Nos verò Islandi, quamvis ultimi & gelidam conclusi ad Arcton, longè alias Christianismi notas requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus, ut quilibet proximum diligat velut seipsum. Jam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quàm canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cujuslibet favor, tanta æstimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæso erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, præterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmissimè conciliavit, etiam Lex divina curam summam in enutriendo habere jussit. (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6. 4.) ut scilicet sint in sancto conjugio, Ecclesiæ quædam seminaria, omnis pietatis & honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item:

Conjugium humanæ quædam est Academia vitæ.

Ut jam satis constet, apud Christianos longè pluris faciendos & curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed & hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis apertè conspicitur: ut si quos hoc penitùs exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaveris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quíque lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miserabili ad naves comitatæ, & ex his quædam à filiorum complexibus ægrè divulsæ, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, navésque è portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subjectos

fluctus dissiluere; Sabellico authore. Monstrat Ægeus, qui navem filii Thesei, cum velis atri coloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, periisse filium ratus, vitam in proximis undis finivit. Sabellic. lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat Gordianus senior, Africæ proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filii, vitam suspendio clausit. Campofulgos lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem Jocasta Creontis filia, Auctolia Sinonis F. Anius Tuscorum Rex, Orodes Rex Parthorum, & alii numero innumero: De quibus vide stat. lib. 2. Plutarchum, & alios, &c. Huc illud. Amor descendit, &c. Adeò, ut videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intimè diligere, & summo amore prosequi, quàm avi volare; ut si jam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem & affectum in filios iisdem, quantumvis inviti & repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infrà bruta & quasvis bestias, quæ ipsæ, stimulante natura, maximo prolis suæ & arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ exstant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemvis, nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Jam verò si quis eò fortunæ deveniat, ut proprium filium, sive incolæ, sive extranei alicujus potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunque urgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne famelicum inedia deficientem aspicere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes reservet, Is minimè dicendus est filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, sive id faciant Islandi, sive extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorum vel Danorum nautæ apud nos mendicos quosdam, liberis onustos, quorum hîc maximus est numerus, qui jocando, ut sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cúmque rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi vicissim?

Responderint mendici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14. dabo ex eis unum vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluvies istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis instituere. Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis & inopiæ mendicorum, uno illos filio levaverit, eíque propter Deum in aliis terris, aliquo [I. 544.] tandem modo benè prospexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miserenti permittit & committit, filium istum suum minoris facit quàm canem? Præstitum est à multis tam Islandis quàm extraneis hujusmodi benevolentiæ & commiserationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobilissimus Accilius Julius à serenissimo rege Daniæ olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui ut audivi, 15. pueros pauperculos assumpsit & secum in Daniam avexit: Ubi postea ipsius beneficio singulos suo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi evasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modò vendat; sed si emptorem non habet, ipse mactet & comedat? Nota sunt hujus rei exempla: Parentum videlicet invitæ crudelitatis in filios, stimulante non odio vel astorgia, sed inevitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde universale gentis alicujus convicium exstruxerit? Legimus, in obsidione Samariæ matres duas filios suos mactasse, & coctos comedisse: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obsidione Jerosolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserrimæ matris, filium misellum jam mactaturæ. Infans, ait, (referam enim Eusebii verba de hac re, etsi notissima, ut miseræ matris affectus appareat,) miselle & infelix, cuinam in hoc belli, famis, & seditionis tumultu, te commodè reservem? Si Romanorum subjiciamur imperio, illic servitutis jugo pressi, vitam infœliciter exigemus. Sed servitutem credo fames antevertet. Accedit factiosorum prædonum turba, his utrísque miseriis toleratu multò asperior. Age igitur mi gnate, sis matri cibus, sis prædonibus furia, sis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res una ad Judæ-

orum calamitates deesse videtur. Quæ cum dixisset, natum trucidat, assatúmque dimidium mox comedit, dimidium reservat &c. Eusebius libro 3. capite 6. Jam quis est, qui non credat miserrimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicujus, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset servatum iri, aut emptoris possessioni fuisse permissuram? Nota est fames, Calagurium, Hispaniæ urbem, olim à Cneio Pompeio obsessam opprimens (Val. libro septimo cap. 7.) cujus civibus, uxores & liberi in usum extremæ dapis conversi sunt, quos profectò; pro cibariis & aliis dapibus haud inviti vendidissent. Nota est quoque fames, quæ Anno Domini 851. (Vincent. libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attrivit, ut etiam pater filium suum devorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem Henrici septimi Imperat. fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes devorarint, & præcipuè quidem in Polonia & Bohemia. Et ne exempla tantùm antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ sævitiam, Anno 1586. & 1587. in Hungaria grassatam fuisse, ut quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum servitutis jugum manciparint: quidam parvulos suos, quos ulterius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia in Danubium projecisse, & suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hæc & similia exempla quempiam eò insaniæ adigent, ut dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in escam propriam mactare consuevisse, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis submergere & suffocare solitam esse? Non opinor. Sic neque quòd mendici apud Islandos, extrema urgente necessitate, cujus durissimi sunt morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adscribendum est à quoquam, nisi apud eundem omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Cæterùm optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis deliciis habent, ut eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinu gestent,

quem morem in peregrinis quibusdam, quos Romæ catulos simiarum & canum in gremio circumferre Cæsar conspexit, hac quæstione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipsos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè sobolis incitarentur, in bestias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas, Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare jam Munstere & Krantzi, alias nobis Christianitatis, (ut sic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & sanctæ simplicitatis notas quærite.

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege: ad cujus nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, & ex consuetudine aliarum gentium constituit, quàm sanctè observant. *Krantzius. Munsterus.*

FUit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Evangelii doctrinam maxima Episcopi observantia; sed nunquam tanta ut exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent nostræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore Alberti Krantzii, multò minùs Munsteri (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552. post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam obtinuerunt authoritatem, cùm scilicet multi ex iis, qui divitiis paulò plus valebant, adversus ipsos consurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud nostrates liquidò constat. Interim tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sævitia id temporis persecuti sunt.

Porrò etsi tum fuit magna, imò maxima Episcopi observantia, tamen nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorúmque mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, adversus Deum & sacrum ministerium, etiam hîc armare non negligit. [I. 545.]

[Sectio

SECTIO NONA.

Munster. Illic victitant plerúmque piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis civitatibus infertur : & qui inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis utuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.

VIde Lector, quàm Munsterum juvet, eadem oberrare chorda : ut cum de gente ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa afferre, vel eadem sæpiùs repetere, sícque cramben eandem recoquere sustineat: Dixerat enim paulò ante, Islandos piscibus vivere. Verba ipsius superiùs etiam recitata, hæc sunt. Islandia populos continet multos, solo pecorum pastu & nunc captura piscium victitantes, &c. Et ut cætera transeam in quibus leve quiddam notari poterat; Illud sanè, panem in Islandia non crescere, perquam verum est. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune esse crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis crescat, nisi fortè in Munsteri agro, ubi etiam acetum naturale optimè crescit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, scilicet, salva erunt. Ad convicia autem, quæ ex victu Islandorum petunt extranei, infrà paucis respondebitur, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Munster. Krantzius. Incolæ res majorum & sui temporis celebrant cantibus & insculpunt scopulis, atque promontoriis, ut nulla, nisi cum naturæ injuria, intercidant apud posteritatem.

Frisius. Cytharædi, & qui testitudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plurimi, qui prædulci modulamine & volucres & pisces irretiant & capiant.

Veterum gesta apud Islandos conservata. QUin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus & poëmatibus nostratium, ut & soluta oratione, apud nos conserventur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut majoribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontoriis insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, ut neque illam tantam Citharæ-

dorum, aves aut pisces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, ut crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere.

SECTIO UNDECIMA.

SEd cum scriptoribus jam dictis, viris alioqui spectatæ eruditionis & preclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconsideratè scriptis suis interserverunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhausta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fœtus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcircò anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, ut venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porrò licet adversus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constare volo, quonam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non ut cum illius pestifera virulentia, conviciis aut maledicentia certem (Nam ut est in triviali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vinco, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed ut bonis & cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam, qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tantam sustinere credant: Tum etiam ut alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis nostræ opprobrium utuntur, & inde dicteria & contumeliosas subsannationes ad despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in suum pasquillum congessit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi præviderem fœtum illum probrosum, tot & tam variis maledictis turgidum,

omnibus bonis nauseam movere posse, ac sua spurcitie ab iis legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (iis scilicet omissis quæ cum aliis communia habet, atque hactenus ventilata sunt) sed, quàm ille, longè mitius; ne, ut dixi, linguæ ipsius obscœna petulantia, aures bonæ & eruditæ offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia & conviciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare. Primùm igitur objicit Germanicus hic noster, si Diis placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus Islandiæ toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Ut in priore editione, hujus pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio ejusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantum quinquies concionari solitos: quæ duo quàm ritè sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita scilicet plerumque mendacium mendacio proditur, juxta illud: Verum vero consentit: Falsum nec vero, nec falso.

1. *Objectio seu convicium.*

[I. 546.]

Sed cum nostrum non sit veritatem uspiam dissimulare nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multò fuisse rariores, quàm sunt hodiè, tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Davidicis à vulgo latinè demurmuratis, ut idem nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papistæ enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm fuere solliciti. Postquam verò caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundam pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem & curam præposteram non possimus omni modo excusare. Quod utrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DUODECIMA.

Secundò calumniatur vitilitigator: Adulteria & scortationes non modò publica esse & frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab iis pro scelere ne haberi quidem. 2. *Convitium.*

ETsi autem fœdissimæ istæ turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatæ sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in aliis quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia major: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Islandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, ut dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notavit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad scelera, & turpitudines in nostra patria conniveri, quàm passim hîc fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in præsenti convitio attexuit: videlicet, quòd scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur. Nam in quâ demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audet? Illáne; quæ in legem codicis ll. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. juravit; quæ statuit, ut iterum adulterium qui cum conjuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illáne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum uxore domini commisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogavit? Illáne, quæ eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decrevit? Illáne: cujus leges politicæ, quemvis in adulterio cum uxore, à viro legitimè deprehensum, si evaserit, homicidii mulctam expendere jubent? Illáne, cujus itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filiæ aut sororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam dimidio ejus, quod quis si eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere jubent? Illáne, cujus leges politicæ adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tertiò deprehensum, capite plectendum severè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm injurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium & scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pii omnes, eo nomine in jus vocari, aut malè audire.

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3. *Convitium.* TErtium convicium est, quo fraudis & perfidiæ erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem proculdubio famosi hujus libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multósque Islandiæ angulos, sordidæ mercaturæ gratia, ostiatim adierat: quod ipse de se in præclaris illis suis rhythmis testatur, maximam Islandiæ partem sibi peragratam esse. Unde cum ipse mala fide cum multis egerit (plerumque enim fraus & mendacia conjunguntur, & mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenii sui experientia satis probavit) etiam fortè à se deceptorum fraudem est expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Dissimulato intereà, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est navigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cùm non alios conviciari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita convicia monstrare instituerim, consultò supersedeo.

SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.

4. 5. 6. & 7. *Convitia.* Quarto: negat in conviviis quemquam discumbentium à mensa surgere: sed matresfamilias singulis convivis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Prætereà variam conviviorum edendi bibendíque rusticitatem notat.

5 Cubandi & prandendi ritus objicit: quod decem plus minus in oedem lecto promiscuè viri cum fœminis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atque interea se non nisi aleæ aut latrunculorum ludo exerceant. [I. 547.]

6 Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem & os urina proluere.

7 Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum ritus contemptuosè extenuat.

HÆc & hujusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imò de se & suis optimè meritam, impurus calumniator evomit. Quæ quidem ejus generis sunt, ut illi de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam ut demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid hujusmodi apud homines sordidos, & ex ipsa vulgi colluvie infimos, quibuscum longè sæpius, quàm bonis & honestis conversabatur, animadvertisse præclarum hunc notarium Germanicum (vixerat enim, ut ejus rhythmi testantur, diutiusculè in locis maritimis Islandiæ, quo ferè promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscaturæ annuatim confluit, & tam extraneorum nautarum, quàm sua nequitia corruptum, sæpius inhonestè mores & vitam instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco injuriam nobis facit, unius nebulonis & desperati Sycophantæ turpitudine, totam gentem (ut ferè solent etiam alii) aspergendo, quàm ut refutatione ulla indigeat. Cujus rei etiam ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas ejus farinæ fœditates, rusticitates & obscœnitates, etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobrium disertum esse juvat: nec tam tener esse volo, ut verbulis transverberer. Id tantùm viderint boni & pii omnes, cujus sit animi, pessima quæque ab uno aut altero designata, toti genti objicere. Si quis Germaniæ aut alterius nationes urbes & pagos omnes peragret, & scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortationes, adulteria, incestus, luxuriem, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obscœnitates in unum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuivis toti nationi communes esse asserat, atque hæc omnia insigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, ísne optimæ rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, &, ut propriè notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmista, naturam & ingenium suum ejusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcos, cum hortos amænissimos

intrarint, nec lilium nec rosas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos & suavissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in cœnum prono, quicquid est luti & stercoris volutare, vertere & invertere, donec impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, ubi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmista, optima, & quæ in nostra Repub. laudabilia esse possunt, sicco pede præterit, pessima quæque, atque ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis designata, hoc est, suæ naturæ, & ingenio aptissima, ut se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasit: unde posthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.

SECTIO DECIMAQUINTA.

9. *Convicium.* NOnum convicium hic recensebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Islandorum maledicus ille porcus, non uno aut paucis verbis, sed prolixa invectiva petivit: Nempe quòd cibis utantur vetustis, & insulsis, idque sine panis usu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piscium genera illis sint esui, & aquam ac serum lactis in potum misceant. Quæ omnia venenatus hic pasquillus diserta contumelia, & ingeniosa calumnia, pulchrè amplificavit.

Cæterum etsi illum prolixiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leviter nostræ genti objiciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primùm igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò secabimus: In mendicos, & hos qui & se & cum aliis etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, & eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quòd illos edere, aut· edisse, extrema aliquando coëgit necessitas, reliquæ genti cibariorum genera aut numerum præscribere fas est. Nam & de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum servantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora distinguemus, ut nihil mirum sit, grassante annonæ sævitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuisse, quæ aliàs vix canes pascant. Ut nuperrimè de Parisiensibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctissima Henrici 4. Navarræi obsidione pressis, & famem Saguntinam, ut P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpessis; eos non modò equinam, sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortario contusis farinæ pugillo uno aut altero misto, confectam, in suas dapes convertisse: & de aliis quoque populis notum est, qui simili urgente inopia, etiam murium, felium & canum esu victitarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando usu venit (quanquam à canina, murium & felium, ut & humana carne hactenus, nobis [I. 548.] quantum constat, abstinuerint) licet non ab hoste obsessis: Nam cùm ad victum necessaria ex terra marique petant, & ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum advehatur, quoties terræ marisque munera DEUS præcluserit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruisse, & dira fame vexari incolas, necesse est. Unde fit, ut illos qui in diem vivere soliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum superantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentasse, quoties egestas urserit, credibile. Cæterum, utrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Islandos, quàm alias nationes, occasionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis judicandum relinquo.

Porrò quod de gentis nostræ propriis & consuetis alimentis multi objicere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inveteratis, Item de lacticiniis, frumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandiæ locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratium, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, ut & ipsis Pharmacopoliis, destituimur, mensam instruere & frugaliter vivere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, passim

sine salis condimento usitata esse. Et insuper addemus, hæc ipsa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. Nam etsi frumenti aut farris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec sal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus. opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi & conservandi, quæ ad vitam sustentandam spectant, ut appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum. Quòd verò sua omnia extranei jucundiora & salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causæ esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEUM gulæ nostræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis deliciis & lautitiis, quæ tam jucundæ & salubres putantur, etiam nostræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmissimam, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia statuimus boni & convenientis alimenti, καὶ τῆς ἐυχρασίας esse indicia) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterili, quàm huic nostro aëri & alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortasse nostratium comprobare poterant,

Ratio conservandi cibos sine sale.

Ni nos (ut inquit ille) paupertas invida deprimeret.

Sed hîc vulgi judicium, ut in aliis sæpè, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (jam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quòd omnia, quæ illorum usus non admittit, aut quæ non viderunt, aut experti sunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, si quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquod, non possit adduci ut credat: Sic illi sensu suæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, ut nihil sit bonum, nihil conducibile, nisi quo illi soli vivunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non processimus, ut eos qui locustis vescuntur, quod tum de aliis, tum Æthiopiæ quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Magestanes dederunt, teste Agatarchide, didicimus; aut

ranis, aut crancris marinis, aut squillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota est, vulgi propterea ludibriis exponere præsumamus, à quibus tamen eduliis, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

DEcimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus objicit. Marsupium inquit, non circumferunt, nec hospitiari aut convivari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliquid haberet, quod cum aliis communicaret, id faceret sane in primis ac libenter. His quoque annectamus, quod templa, seu sacras ædiculas domi propriæ à multis Islandorum extructas velut pudendum quiddam commemorat: quodque eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur. Hæc ille velut insigne quoddam dedecus in Islandis notavit. 10. *Convicium.*

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

Nec porci divina unquam amarunt: quod sanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conviciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his ultimis duabus objectionibus constare poterit.

Verùm enimverò, cùm ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissmus, nos Lectorem ejus rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quod is de Islandia composuit, & nos jam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinavimus: cujus maledicentiæ & fœditatis nos hîc pro ipso puduit; ita, ut quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta ejus est & tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEUS BONE: Hoc conviciorum plaustrum (paucissima namque attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lavare, & stulto, ut inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis [I. 549.] verbum non sit quod convicio careat) qui viderit, nonne judicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imò fæcem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanite?

Sed hîc meritò dubitaverim, pejusne horum conviciorum autor de Islandis meritus sit, an verò Typographus ille Joachimus Leo (& quicunque sunt alii, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec urbis suæ nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa jam bis, si non sæpius, typis suis Hamburgi evulgavit. Hoccine impunè fieri sinitis, ô senatus populusque Hamburgensis? Hanccine statuistis gratiam deberi Islandiæ, quæ urbi vestræ jam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim nostratium quibusvis commodis, pecudum, pecorumque carnibus, butyro & piscium copia quotannis, penè immodica, quædam quasi cella penuaria fuit? Sensere hujus Insulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ urbes aliquot: Præterea Danis, Bremensibus, & Lubecensibus cum Islandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis unquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hæc est Gregoriana calumnia: In vestrà, vestrà inquam urbe, nata, edita, iterata, si non tertiata: quæ alias nationes, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad hujus gentis opprobrium & contemptum armavit: quam à cive vestro acceptam injuriam, jam 30. annos, & plus eò, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, inscio magistratu, ejusmodi multa sæpè fiunt: Neque enim dubitamus, quin viri boni ejusmodi scripta famosa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caveant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum jure naturali: Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Cæsareo, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur pœna gravissima iis, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi vendive curant, aut non statim repertos discerpunt.

Urbes Angliæ commercia olim in Islandia exercentes.

Cæterum jam tandem receptui canamus: Nósque ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Christo hospitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non desistis, invisam facient, convertamus: Ubi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempè serium & ardens studium ac amorem DEI, & divinæ scientiæ, nobis in Christo patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: ut uni huic cuncta posthabeas, doc-

trinæ & verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium & ministros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequare: sed reverearis, foveas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impiis & profanis habeas: ut omnia ad pietatis & honestatis præscriptum geras, in vita privata & communi, ut huic status & ordines Ecclesiastici & Politici, in universum obtemperent: In utroque vitæ genere, ab illa amussi seu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, averseris, quos æquum est pœnis condignis affici, id quod magistratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullos nisi spectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes conjungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res ista enim, si probè curetur, ut videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; subditorum conditio, longè erit optatissima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles sequentur: pietas & honestas tantò erunt illustriores. At verò si secus fiat, si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respondeant, si ad administrationem politicam promiscuè admittantur, quicunque eò propria levitate, ambitione vel avaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: si iidem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel convicti sint, aut suspectorum & convictorum protectores, vel iisdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæso demum futurus est status? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quàm si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in iis est, licet sint & ipsi ex tuis, jugulum tuum, propter emolumenta privata, & odia latentia, quotidiè petere contendunt. Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, ut hæc probè curentur, facilè, ô Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altissimos, qui sub hac ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis aures exaudiant,

apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de causa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria nostra à regia sede, & conspectu, tantò intervallo sit remota, ut multi propterea tantò sibi majorem sumant licentiam, & impunitatem securius promittant. Cæterum ista numini justissimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum est, ô patria, ut studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo. i. comi & benigno, suscipias: quod quamvis minimè tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIUM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est (si modò quicquam est) & quantulum cunque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium pro mea tenui parte afferre possem, nequaquam supprimendum putavi, nec enim illos laudare soleo,

[I. 550.] Qui, quòd desperent invicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me sanè, si hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquam pœnitebit. Quòd si ad laudem vel aliquale patrocinium tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitavero, quid est cur operæ precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen præstantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi famæ & nominis cura summa esse debet, major tamen patriæ; cujus dignitate salva & incolumni, nos quoque salvos & incolumes reputabimus.

Scripsi Holis Hialtædalensium in Islandia, Æræ Christianæ Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.

A BRIEFE COMMENTARIE of Island: wherin the errors of such as have written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they have used over-boldly against the people of Island are confuted.

By Arngrimus Jonas, of Island.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Christian the 4. of Denmarke, Norway, and of the Vandals and Gothes, King elect: of Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Dithmarse Duke: Earle of Oldenburg, and Delmenhorst: His most gratious Lord.

Hat heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas (most gratious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserveth highly to be renowmed in histories: in that freely and couragiously he offered his owne person, for the stopping up of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celœna, a towne in Phrigia, which dayly swallowed multitudes of men, and whatsoever else came neere unto it. For when his father Midas was advertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut up, before things most precious were cast into it: Anchurus deeming nothing to be more invaluable then life, plunged himselfe alive downe headlong into that bottomeles hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise.

Sperthius also and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the revenge of Xerxes that most puissant King of the

Persians, entended against the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambassadors of his father Darius, hyed them unto the sayd king, and that he might avenge the ambassadours death upon them, not upon their countrey, with hardy, and constant mindes presented themselves before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moved them, and many others being enflamed with the love of their countrey, to refuse for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to undergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my selfe unto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and so take upon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subject to the sinister judgement of many.

In this purpose the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewise confirmed me: who being chosen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie, having taken up some store of graine in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to have had greater regard of his countrey, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceived the Pilots to tremble, and to be unwilling to commit themselves to the rigor of the stormie sea, himselfe first going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake foorth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie urgeth: but that we should live, it urgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne private safetie.

[I. 551.] This man doe I thus imitate,
If small with great as equals may agree:
And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying up in store those things which might be applied to succour the fame and credite of our nation, having now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the envie of certeine malicious persons, I boldly adventure to present these fewe meditations of mine unto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing up sailes to commit my selfe unto a troublesome sea, and to breake foorth into the like speeches with him: That I should write necessitie urgeth: but that my writings in all places should satisfie every delicate taste, or escape all peevishnes of carpers it urgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterprise: the successe perhaps all men will not approve. Nevertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, susteining so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise, redounding perhaps unto me upon this occasion. For what cause should move me to shunne the envie and hate of some men, being joyned with an indevour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

The errors of the writers of Island intolerable.

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers, or too severe in reprehending the slanders of some men: yet I hope all they will judge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many also and how grievous be the reproches of some, against us, wherewith they have sundry wayes provoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to provoke. They ought also to have me excused in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their native soile, and to pardon my just griefe for these injuries offered unto my countrey. And I in very deed, so much as lay in me, have in all places moderated my selfe, and have bene desirous to abstaine from reproches: but if any man thinke, we should have used more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to undergoe the same hazard,

which I see is commonly incident to all men, that publish any writings: I must now have especiall regarde of this one thing: namely, of seeking out some patron, and Mecœnas for this my briefe commentary, under whose name and protection it may more safely passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Majestie, most gratious prince. For unto him, who hath received under his power & tuition our lives and goods, unto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would have respect also unto the credit of our nation, so injuriously disgraced.

Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to crave your Majesties mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof: which not by me, but by the letters supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Majestie, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe unto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Majesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse unto your sacred Majestie, is ours: so the glory of relieving, regarding, and protecting us, shal wholy redound unto your sacred Majestie: as also, there is layd up for you, in respect of your fostering and preserving of Gods church, upon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the uttermost bounds of your Majesties dominion (which by the singular goodnes of God, enjoyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heavens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leave them, and returne to my purpose which I have in hand: most humbly beseeching your

S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a favourer and patron unto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull sovereigne) for us to make our humble prayers unto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to advance your Majestie (yearely growing up in wisedome & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of sovereigntie: and being advanced, continually to blesse you with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserve you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect joy of his heavenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in every corner of your Majesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more sure and certein they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March.

Y. S. M.

most humble subject,

Arngrimus Jonas, Islander.

To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, wisheth health. [I. 552.]

THere came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of Germany: namely a booke of German rimes, of al that ever were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of Island. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure

times over: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deepely disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and everlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing unlawfull. And this he did without controlment, even in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is Joachimus Leo, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow upon mariners fabulous reports.

Moreover, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, have altogether swarved from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wives tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they have not left behind them such filthy & reprochful stuffe as that base rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquited from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring up new writers, which offer injury to the fame & reputation of the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filtch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers w^t^ feined descriptions, & a new rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other unjust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I have now procured an honest and learned young man one Arngrimus Fitz-Jonas, to peruse the works of authors, that have written any thing concerning Island, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falshoods.

And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common love of his countrey prevailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that undertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalenge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface unto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherfore to speake my minde in a word: for my part, I judge him to have taken both honest & necessary paines, who hath done his indevour not onely to weigh the divers opinions of wrighters concerning things unknowen, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred love of truth, and of his countrey, against the perversnes of carpers. Farewel. Anno 1592. Julii 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of Island.

EVen as in war, dayly experience teacheth us, that some upon no just & lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, envie, and covetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselves upon just and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way provoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being provoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be up in armes: right so, they that fight under Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not upon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, addresse themselves to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for envy

and spight, or upon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and, that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inveighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse untrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things
[I. 553.] profitable: namely, they that write of Divinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking use and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences have brought things obscure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that have faithfully commended to everlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours have advaunced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endevour themselves to represse the insolencie, confute the slanders, and withstand the unjust violence of others, against themselves, their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, having scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meanest of all the followers of Minerva (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their number, who have applied themselves to ridde their countrey from dishonor, to avouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & revilers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to injurie my sayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errours of certeine writers concerning this Iland, unto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselves, stubburnly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither

can I hope to remoove them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I have penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the utmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting unto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countreymen, who have bene better trained up in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to undertake the like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoever they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they use the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers have reported of Island, to the end that if they have given (perhaps) any occasion to others of inveying against us, their errours being layd open (for I will not speake more sharpely) all the world may see how justly they do reproch us. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Iland, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reverend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for novices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselves have written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and perverse wit to have gained nought else but a blacke marke of envy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may have some order, it shall be divided into two generall parts: the

first of the Iland, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so far-foorth as those writers which are come to our hands have left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which perteine unto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let us come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adjuncts of this Iland.

The first section.

Munsterus lib. 4. cosmographiæ.

The Isle of Island being severed from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarse knowen unto Sailers.

ALbeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adjuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the first place, that the friendly reader perceiving how truely those writers of Island have reported in this respect, may thereby also easily judge what credit is to be given unto them in other matters which they have left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others have received from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they have borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

[I. 554.] First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be provided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it never so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerve. In ye meane while therfore I will set downe divers opinions of authors, concerning ye situation of Island, that from hence every man may gather that of the distance which

seemeth most probable; until perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adjoin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit. deg.	Longit. min.	Latitud. deg.	Latitud. min.
Munster placeth Island almost in	20		68	
Gerardus Mercator	325		68	
Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7	0	65	30
Hersee	7	40	60	42
Thirtes	5	50	64	44
Nadar	6	40	57	10
Jacobus Zieglerus.				
The West shore of Island	20	0	63	0
The promontorie of Chos	22	46	63	0
The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in	30	0	68	0
The North shore is extended Westward, and hath bounds of extension in	28	0	69	0
The description of ye West side.				
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25	0	67	0
The promontorie of Madher	21	20	65	10
The inland cities of Island				
Holen the seat of a bishop	28	0	67	50
Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22		63	30
Reinholdus.				
By Holen in Island			68	
Johannes Miritius.				
By Mid-Island			69	½
Neander.				
Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that ye said circle arctic doeth almost divide it in the midst &c.				

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings have noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you have, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I have probable conjectures perswading me not to beleeve any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leave the matter in suspense then affirme an uncerteinty, untill (as I have sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne observation, and experience.

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburgh, Island must have none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proove by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but seven dayes sailing from Island to Hamburgh. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from us but two dayes sailing. We have foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland: and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe over to the province of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

Seven dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg.

Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands, & from the desert shores of Norway.

The second section.

In this Iland, at the Summer solstitium, the Sun passing thorow the signe of Cancer, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter solstitium there is no day. Also: Vadianus. But in that Iland, which farre within the arctic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called Island, and next unto the lands of the frozen sea, which they call Engrontland, there be many moneths in the yere without nights. *Munsterus. Olaus Magnus and others.*

AT the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is seene above the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is elevated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reverend father, Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and yet there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situate beyond the arctic circle: secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in Winter solstitium many dayes. [I. 555.] *Island is not within the circle arctic.*

The third section.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaveth unto the North part thereof. Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, environed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus. This is Thyle, whereof most of the ancient writers have made mention. *Munsterus. Saxo.*

IT is named of ice, &c. Island hath beene called by three names, one after another. For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the first *Island first discovered by Naddocus in a tempest.*

Discoverer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-Ilands, through a violent tempest did by chance arrive at the East shore of Island; where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow covering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland Sneland. After him one Gardarus, being mooved thereunto by the report which Naddocus gave out concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Iland; who, when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardars-holme, that is to say, Gardars Ile. There were more also desirous to visit this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it environed.

Sneland.

Gardasholme.

Island.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of these wordes of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to speake in one word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like unto trees and herbs; sithens it is evident, that this Island scarse began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since.

This is Thyle, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controversie is not decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would understand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Unlesse some man will say that Thule King of Aegypt (who, as it is thought, gave this name thereunto) passed so farre unto an Iland, which was at that time untilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certeine Iland, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scotish dominion, as Johannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which

Virgil also seemeth to have meant by his ultima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is evident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world divided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the sixt, that it is Schrichfinnia.

Which continually cleaveth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaveth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaveth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driven towards the West: neither doth it returne before Januarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man should recken up many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene seene about Island? which was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that navigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut up, when as English ships every yere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and June, doe usually returne unto us, and some of them depart not againe from hence till August. But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the haven of Vopnafiord in the coast of Island about fourteene dayes in the moneth of November, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaveth unto Island, Munster and Frisius are much deceived.

The ice of Iseland set always to the West.

No ice at all some yeres in Island.

Navigation open to Island from March till the midst of November.

[The fourth

The fourth section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. The Iland is so great that it conteineth many people. Item Zieglerus sayth: The situation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length.

SO great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolemaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent unto mine Uncle in West-Island, a short treatise which he had gathered [I. 556.] out of the fragments of sundrie writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: Island is twise as great as Sicilie, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150 Germaine miles in compasse. As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen unto us, yet the ancient, constant, and received opinion *Island* 144 *Germaine miles in compasse.* of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Island, which are commonly knowen, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe.

Many people. &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countreymen of the Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communalty) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time unpeopled.

The fifth section.

Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.

The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and untilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to drive their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.

THat danger of surfetting or choaking was never heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they never so ancient.

The sixth section.

Munsterus. Frisius.

There be in this Iland mountaines lift up to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with everlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called Hecla: the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third Helga. Item: Zieglerus. The rocke or promontorie of Hecla boileth with continuall fire. Item: Saxo. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by uncessant belching out of flames.

MUnster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, upon the thresholde, to the great inconvenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour unto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South

Island lying neere the Sea, and covered over with continuall snow and frost, a marveilous eruption of smoake and fire, casting up abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit prevaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to avouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer also, which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe up the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. For, all these thus concurring, fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fattie and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caves of the earth: force of making passage, and that the invincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (even as in undermining trenches, and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone, and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-

Three naturall causes of firie mountaines.

powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being skorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, [I. 557.] together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted up and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake: which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidonius, Succussio) it must either be an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaved up and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) casteth out huge heaps: such an earth-quake was the same which I even now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses: *Lib.* 20. *cap.* 20.

The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,
urged now up, and now enforced downe:
For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
to ridde it selfe from uncouth dungeon.
Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiver,
Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiver.

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three fained mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be never destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marveile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne.

Wherefore, if we will give credit unto them, even this mountaine also, sithens it is covered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of uncleane soules: which thing they have not doubted to ascribe unto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the firie bottome. And it is no marveile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and never breaking forth except it be very seldome, should not be able continually to melt the snowe covering the toppe of the sayd mountaine.

Cardanus. For in Caira (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are five miles high, and never without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We have heard that either of the forsayd Provinces standeth neere unto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Ilands) the Pike so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason have we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted up even unto the skies. For they have no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by us Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing just by a monastery of the same name, being covered with snowe, upon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserveth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, never yet (as I sayd in the beginning of this section) so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy

mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily finde out, and reckon up in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler have noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoever they be that have ascribed unto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countreymen have recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we never heard of the burning of this mountaine untill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking foorth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore observed) have burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter. *The chronicles of Island.*

The seventh section. [I. 558.]

The flame of mount Hecla will not burne towe (which is most apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike engines with us, from thence are great stones cast foorth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone. This place is thought of some to be the prison of uncleane soules. Item: Zieglerus. This place is the prison of uncleane soules. *Frisius. Munsterus.*

WIll not burne towe. Where these writers should finde such matters, it is not easie to conjecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they ever bene heard of heere among us, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man

with us so rashly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that ever durst: which notwithstanding Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approch unto the mountaine, are by some gulfe swallowed up alive, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether unknowen unto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly written, few of them true, and the most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was written long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the most part under the shew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the cousinage) it doeth all over swarme, it deserveth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wives looking glasse. In this glasse there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much unlike these which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded upon experience, and for that cause to be rejected.

Speculum regale written in the Noruagian tongue.

Whence the fables of Island grew.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I suppose deserve no credit at all.

1 Of a certaine Isle in Ireland, having a church and a parish in it, the inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like living men, do continually, against some banke or wall in the Churchyard, stand bolt-upright: neither are they subject to any corruption or downefall: insomuch that any of the posteritie may there seeke for, and beholde their ancestors.

2 Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatsoever, by the onely vertue and presence thereof, yea even without touching.

4 Of a third Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of devils, but that the sayd devils have no jurisdiction over the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a Pastor, and of divine service: and that it is so by nature.

5 Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating up and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the Iland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore, he reporteth that this Iland every seventh yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas unto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie even upon hie mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway,

Island, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be astonished, yet hath he ministred unto us nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let us heare Frisius. The flame of Mount Hecla (sayth he) will not burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be confirmed by many reasons borrowed [I. 559.] out of your schoole of Philosophy. For the naturall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon even blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, use to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred up by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth prove more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth upon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist. 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympheum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, covering a burning fountaine. And moreover that there are sudden fires at some times, even upon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of

Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea. Yea even upon mens bodies sudden fires have glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Servius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to revenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaves of shadie trees that growe directly over it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre foorth as ever I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone, and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it covereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to have compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Unlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we have before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed unto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare. *Frisius.*

But that brimstone should be sent foorth it is a meere fable, and never knowen unto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of uncleane soules. Here I am constrained to use a preface, and to crave pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded unto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselves, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong unto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who have confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherfore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wise men should be growen to this point, not onely to listen after, but even to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people? For the common sort of strangers, and the off-skowring of mariners (here I do except them of better judgement aswell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are carried to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fewell layed upon this fire as they have in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodilesse, and invisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this? But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there is the same trueth of this prison that there

is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, under full saile, a most swift pace, going directly on her course, met with another ship sailing against winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselves, who hailing them of whence they were, answere was given by their governour, De Bischop van Bremen: being the second time asked whether they were bound? he answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am affeard lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let us rather come unto our owne writers. [I. 560.]

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaste gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarmes of ugly blacke Ravens and Vultures lie hoovering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoever part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they have learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monstrous skritches are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares?

Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarsi: neither are there any with us, that can beare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Ravens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driven from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for proofe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from us? Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such unknowen and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endevouring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let us rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

Munsterus Cosmographi: universalis lib. 1. cap. 7.

It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we understand that

there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking as it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut up, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the upper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the domage of the whole region adjoyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diverse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they shine farre and neare, [I. 561.] above 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iron chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had com-

manded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the caldron only vanish & melt away: but also, upon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost consumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reject this as a thing too new, & altogether unknowen to ancient writers. Why therefore have not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Island? Why have they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceive so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt upon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there proceede whole rivers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approch in the night: from whence the sound of Cymbals and the noyse of rattles, with unwonted and uncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare unto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like

Aetna continually burning and casting up stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuvius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adjoyning, & to the utter destruction of Caius Plinius prying into ye causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as being too well knowen, though they should have feined them to have beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumor whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leave off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, y^{t} there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both us & other (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fireworkes, not the fury of hell. But now let us examine a few more such fables of ye common people, which have so unhappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.

[The eight

The eight section.

Frisius. Zieglerus. Olaus magnus.

Neare unto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he never so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

TO confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heaven have invented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being otherwise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) have followed with an over hastie judgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting foorth novelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wives toyes, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned men be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parleing with their acquaintance
[I. 562.] & friends? What? Will you conjure, & raise up unto us from death to life old Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting upon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falshood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of all things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them

out. Whose words be these. There is Hecla a mountaine in Island, which burneth like unto Ætna at certain seasons, & hereupon the common people have conceived an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape up more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reason. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering them, that they are going to mount Hecla: as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but every where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a common citizen, in the gate neare unto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundance of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giveth me answere that this man used to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night among the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to avoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down upon the ground. He would faine have made a shout, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together upon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he up and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being utterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more constantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he

was cast upon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to strangle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a living man, they asked him how he could discerne a dead man from a living? To this, he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, where the sunne is hoat, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of Ægypt, Æthiopia, and India, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring even the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely y^t^ apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al men know, if they do not maliciously feigne themselves to be ignorant) And secondly that that conference of the dead with the living in ye gulfe of Hecla is not grounded upon any certainty, but only upon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish common sort have used, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantasticall, that wilbe induced to beleeve these gulfes, mentioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be never so ful of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For from hence also they say, y^t^ reproches are justly used against our nation: namely, y^t^ there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which conteineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we have gotten

by those historiographers, who have bin so greedy to publish novelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the common people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently overthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being devised for the upbrayding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

The ninth section.

But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not unlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount Hecla and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countreymen are tormented. *Frisius and Munster.*

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut up within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing places: [I. 563.] namely, when it is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within ye mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into morsels of yce. Come forth, & give eare all ye y^t^ wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these historiographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that ye Islanders have not only hel within their jurisdiction, but also y^t^ they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe untouched ye very same day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shoare do usually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, even upon the very same ise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the evening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisius. *Taking of Seales on the ice.*

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest ye Islanders beguile all your countries of the commendation of courage and constancy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can & will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon up a great many of our countrimen, who in ye very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting upon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed up & downe in the waves of ye raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) have had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, have returned home in safety: some of which number are alive at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch up this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserve otherwise to be handled and confuted, then with such like meriments & sportings. But to lay aside all jesting, let us returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. First of all therfore it is evident enough out of the second section, y^t^ ice floateth not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere: then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like unto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But wheras they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen

Westerne windes disperse the ice.

Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.

are tormented, we utterly stand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Jesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath delivered us from death & hell, & opened unto us the gate of the kingdome of heaven) because he hath instructed us more truely, concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell us. We know and maintain that the soules of ye godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heavenly paradise. We know and maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines, or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into utter darkenesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not common, but far beyond our knowledge & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, y^{t} is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, y^{t} the Islanders are no whit nearer unto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoever. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for us, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall never see that utter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now let us here shut up the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

[The tenth

The tenth section.

Frisius. Zieglerus. Saxo. If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it never so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the Iland, utterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

SUrely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, y^t^ this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of ye matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it peirceth through hard & solide bodies, no otherwise then spirits & ghosts: therfore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, y^t^ it must have either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. But y^t^ it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, [I. 564.] because we have heard that infernall cold is farre more unsufferable then this ise, which useth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt even naked flesh, by touching therof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we have learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot have any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of the Historiographers, howsoever according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolved into water, upon the upper part therof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land-river would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernall. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, y^t^ this ise hath brought hell (which the historiographers

annexe unto it) downe from heaven together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be common unto heaven, being of one & the same matter with ise, & so that the prison of the damned may be thought to have changed places with the heavenly paradise, & all by the oversight of these Historiographers. Wherfore seeing the matter of this historicall ise is neither elementarie (as we have so often proved by this place of Frisius) neither spirituall, nor infernall, both which we have concluded evidently, in short, yet sound and substantiall reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifest, y^t^ according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such astonishing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same time, then will we give credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily judge, that we need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no marvell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing invented by another concerning the sympathy or conjoining of this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can observe it, by reason of the unchangeable necessitie of following. But we have oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts thereof were driven away) and lying upon the shore for many weekes together, without any posts or engines at all to stay it. Therefore it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded upon a more slippery foundation then ise it selfe.

The eleventh section.

Frisius. Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselves. The first, by reason of his continuall heat converteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then hony, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

EVen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare howe impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he ascribeth foure fountaines indifferently unto them all. Otherwise, if he had not made them stand neare together, he would have placed next unto some one of these, two of the foresaide fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder) neither are there any such foure fountaines neare unto them, which, he that wil not beleeve, let him go try. But to confute these things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst out of the same hill Hecla two fountaines, the one whereof, by reason of the cold streames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elements. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, saving that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it selfe, and neare unto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reason any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray

you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse? From whence commeth this heate? Have we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the uses of mankind? I do here deliver these Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. John Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witnesse amongst all the rest, & in stead of them all. So excessive (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter then pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing [I. 565.] heavier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoever exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreover, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in them, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape up the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, aswel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I have learned out of authors, that Germanie every where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarsvil, Calben in the duchy of Wittenberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus

Many hote Baths in Island.

these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. And I say, these things should therefore be ye lesse admired, because the searchers of nature have as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also, & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) conteineth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like rivers, doe cast foorth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, somtimes luke-warme water, somtimes skalding hote, and somtimes temperate. And Seneca. Empedocles thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly conteineth in many places, especially if the said fire bee under that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

The causes of hote Baths.

Lib. 3. nat. quæst.

No marvell though from banke of Baian shore
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:
For Vulcans forge incensed evermore
doeth teach us plaine, that heart of earth below
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.
From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,
And Baths doe boile with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Island do somtime encrease & flow up to the brinke: sometimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discerne them to be fountains. Which kind of fountains, albeit they bee very seldome found with us, yet I will make mention of some like unto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think it somwhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saieth he) in the Isle of Tenedos, which at the Solstitium of sommer doth alwaies flow from the

third houre of the night, till the sixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a river which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried up. He maketh mention also of a very large fountaine, which every houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some rivers run under the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, unto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moscovia: and those things which were throwen into Aesculapius fountaine at Athens, were cast up againe in Phaletico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine rivers which being let downe into some cave under ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be utterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same rivers returne, enjoying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a river received under ground in the field of Atinas that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach us that the fountaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith convert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fountaine. And I have heard reported (though I never had experience thereof my selfe) that there is such a fountain in Island not far from the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which converteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such fountains are to [I. 566.] bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ovid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth unto the river of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of Ciconian flood
fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:

Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood
becommeth marble streight: a thing most strange.

And Cardane. Georgius Agricola affirmeth, that in the territorie of Elbogan, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are converted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called Pyrites, or the Flint. And Domitius Brusonius reporteth, that in the river of Silar (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called Ursence, but now Contursia) leaves and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not upon other mens credite, but upon his own experience, being borne & brought up in that country: which thing Plinie also avoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may give credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is converted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the river of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing over it.

Rivers of Island in sommer season luke-warme.

The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common rivers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a river (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow: and within a mile of Culma, the river called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter than honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with us, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therfore Saxo wrote more

truly, saying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere: and also in the same place there are fountains & rivers not onely of divers tasts, but of divers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we have touched before, which other call per accidens) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the divers & sundry smels, colours and savours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some provoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of in the Ile of Andros, within the temple of Bachus, which in the Nones of January used to flow over with wine. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Orcus a river of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere unto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Suevia neere unto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountain Jurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but conteine oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschylus, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere unto the bridge which we passe over going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the savour of wine in these words.

In lib. de mirab. auscult.

Amidst the Isle of Naxus loe, with fragrant smels and fine
A freshet runs; ye Naxians goe fill cups, carouse, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Ilands called Cyclades lying in the Ægæan sea. Cardane giveth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants use in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of savours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giveth savour unto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the savours thereof, for both have their originall from the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glauca a town in Misena: red water in Radera a river of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere unto Joppa in Judea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Neusola: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains [I. 567.] of Feltrius & Tarvisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis: cole-blacke water in Alera a river of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Japigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreover, that Mariners are driven farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumæa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for somtimes it is greene, somtime white, somtime bloodie, & somtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reason of difference in smels. But for the most part the steames of waters bee unpleasant, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the river Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water.

I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and savours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreis.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whose water being drunke, extinguisheth life. And Plinie saieth, That about Nonaris in Arcadia, the river of Styx (neere the mountaine of Cillene, saieth Cardane: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that Alexander the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. In Berosus an hill of the people called Tauri, there are three fountains, every one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whosoever looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as alwayes heretofore, so even at this day do testifie, that it is utterly unknowen unto us: and therefore in this regard, we render unto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserve our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

The same Author saieth.

Island free from snakes and other venemous beasts.

Furthermore about the foresaid mountains there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere unto these hils they have found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs have some Brimstone Mines also, standing a like distance from the said fountaines. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would have it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged up at this

day: nor I thinke ever was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone: namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. For whereas the Iland is devided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but even the halfe thereof) doeth use it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paied for tribute of the Iland.

Brimstone Mines onely in the North part of Island.

The twelfth Section.

Munster. There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

IN the open aire. In deed we have seen other country merchants doe so, until they had unladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled them againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men have done the like at any time, it is not manifest. Certainly, that plentifull and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the just scourge of our impietie upon us, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fish about Island diminished.

The thirteenth Section.

Frisius. They have most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called ‖ Rangiferi, cannot run above 30. leagues in 24. houres.

‖ *Raine deere.*

The foureteenth Section.

There be seen sometimes neere unto Island huge Whales like unto mountains, which overturne ships, unlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse up and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the devilish Whale. *Munster.* [I. 568.]

LIke unto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the proverbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and sencelesse over-reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth? Why should he use such strange surmountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he ravish the Reader, if he propoundeth unto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leave of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.
But not Historiographers.

Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Ilands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Kranzius, if I be not deceived, Alebrandus) in old time sent certaine Legates with a Coven of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian: and when they had spent a long journey in sailing towards the North, they came unto an Iland, and there casting

their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so provided victuals for the rest of their journy. But when their fires grew very hote, this Iland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saieth) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence have avoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therefore upon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners, that in digging cannot discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the upper part of the ground: without doubt they are woorthy to have Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will never and no where be found, while he endevoureth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stuffe up his history: where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subject to manifold errours, as we will shew by this your example.

For while you take in hand to schoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leaving out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh up the signification of the worde, you deliver that which is not true: for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence val is derived, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with us, & therefore you ought to have written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the devill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that live in mountaines. You see therefore (and no marvel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great injurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island received from Islanders themselves, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, rivers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he received from our countreymen) he had rather (I say) deprave & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselves, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585. lived in the universitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how every thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our native names and words, (whereupon it came to [I. 569.] passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be our owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient propertie.

But now we have after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers have mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any

further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed man (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in ye foresaid yeere under his own name) hath given out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he received it, or whence he had it, we can by no means imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in ye writers of other countries. But whence soever it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receive no colour: notwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a river in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. Also, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peradventure deceived the Reader, reading in a strange language S instead of R.

Who be the Islandish writers?

Speculum regale.

That likewise deserveth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth up and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Hee that will beleeve this, what will he not beleeve? For it is such a rare devise that the Epicures themselves (who yet seemed to Lucian to have fained many incredible things) I am sure never invented the like: unlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine, that a man (who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime up certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should moove or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to save the credite of the Author, that we may not more severely

condemne that fable, which is so sencelesse of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

They are guiltie of the same crime also who have found out ravens, pies, hares and vultures, all white in Island: for it is wel knowen that vultures come very seldome, together with the Ise of the sea, unto us, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crowes called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies, hares, and ravens, Island never had any.

Vultures, beares and crowes come upon the drift Ice into Island.

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpose (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an unknowen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto have bene reported by many concerning our Iland deserve very litle credite: and so to addresse my selfe unto the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

HAving hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and diversly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they have bene very carelesse both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste unto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what

I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against us poore Islanders dwelling in the utmost parts of the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take upon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon up the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike severely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius & others have written many things too boldly of our nation: yet having otherwise deserved wel of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ye same reputation w^t^ us that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free them from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should
[I. 570.] broch certaine sencelesse, impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we have hitherto laid downe: as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible untrueths, some of which kind shal now immediately be discussed. As for others, whatsoever they be, who upbraid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to have that answere in a readinesse which such men deserve. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into everlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing litle reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto wee have done: in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they

have to say, rejecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is woorthy, unto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders: and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and course of life in maner folowing.

The first Section.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders converted unto Christianitie: albeit, before the receiving of Christian faith, they lived according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop. *Krantzius in præfatione suæ Norwegiæ.*

KRantzius in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute unto the Islanders the prerogative of Christian faith: and they should deale both beseeming themselves and the trueth, if they did not in other places deprive us of the same. For (to speake of Krantzius anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close unto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the devill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or upon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heavens shall be created for the habitation of just and holy men, Revel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giveth over to search into such hidden secrets: and he accounteth it unlawful

to receive or deliver unto others, opinions (grounded upon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths. Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely, that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward he maketh to be master-builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as those whom they affirme to be engraffed by faith into Christ, they exempt from all sense of pietie and honesty, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer unto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we have no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No more (I thinke) have other Northern nations neere unto us to say concerning ye beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse & bewaile with deepe sighes, that untill that day which shined unto us like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought unto us the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were over-spred with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may justly and religiously thinke thus much, that among us and our neighbors of Norway (for I wil not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of unknowen people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith & religion did florish far more sincere and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leaven of the see of Rome being augmented, & the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through ye whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the

new idolatry of the papists began to prevaile, and did sound foorth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost, like unto those two most renoumed kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to advance the gospel of Christ. I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yeere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the first, as we have heard, that offred Christ unto the Norwegians, over whom hee reigned five yeeres: and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or there about, governed with more severitie, & for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliver the doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Christ 1030. being unjustly slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for ye name of Christ in a town of Norway called Sticfla Stodum. [I. 571.]

The first christian king of Norway.

Our countrey also had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Christ 1000. lived in the village of Berthorshvol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wisedome and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subjection to no superiour magistrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, saving that by his discreet vertue & diligence, hee set through and brought to composition a great number: hee never did nor suffered violence, but onely upon the last day of his life. So carefully avoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gave good assistance to others, who were desirous also to avoyd and escape them: neither did any man ever put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor ever any did swerve therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should have

Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.

so great and so sure forecast and counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and provident wisedome joyned with counsell became a proverbe amongst us Nials byta raden: That is to say, the counsel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsel: when any busines was atchieved prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approch, at length he brake into these words. Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife, and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal undergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it shalbe delivered from eternal flames. And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce undoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moved to thinke, that in the very beginning of Christianitie received amongst us, mens minds were not so beguiled and overwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times, they have bene.

A summe of the Islanders Religion.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly successours, did make the doctrine of salvation more manifest, and shaking off the heavie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy Spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes, that we might behold his saving health: We all, and every of us do beleeve and confesse that God is a spirit (John 4. v.

24.) eternal (Esay 40. v. 28.) infinite (Jere. 23. v. 24. Psal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Revel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in providence: one in the making and governing of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heaven and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the upholder & governor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (Psal. 2, 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.) And that Jesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the sonne of God the Father (John 1. 18. &c.) onely begotten (John 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1 Chro. 17. 13. Joh. 1. 1.) true God (John 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20, Revel. 13. 8. &c.) and presently after mans fall promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones unto the holy Patriarches, as unto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) unto Isaac (Gen. 26. 4.) unto Jacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promises (Gen. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by ye sacrifices of Moses (Lev. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting up of the brasen serpent (Num. 21) by Jonas (Jonas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Esa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely exhibited: true man (John 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised againe for our justification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heaven (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for us at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. John 2. 1. &c.) by his holy Spirit [I. 572.] (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequall, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the Word,

and Sacraments (Matth. 16. 18. Rom. 10. 14. &c.) and sanctifying it to eternal life, Acts. 9. 31. &c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heaven (Acts 1. 11.) to judge the quicke and the dead (1. Thessal. 4. 15.) that he will render unto the wicked according to their workes, and that he wil judge them to eternal paines (Matth. 13. 42. & 25. 4.) but that he wil reward them with eternal life, who beleeve in his Name (Matth. 25. 34.) This Jesus Christ (I say) wee acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth. 1. 21.) our head (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) and our Lord (Ephe. 4. 5.) And that wee in our holy baptisme do give, and have given our names unto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that we are engraffed into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.) And this we do plainely, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse, and witnesse: And as for all others who invent any other name in heaven given unto men by which they may be saved, we doe earnestly detest, curse, and condemne them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our salvation: And that alone (all mans devises being cast away and contemned) we propound unto our selves as an infallible rule, and level of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we conteine under the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) delivered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe. 2. 20.) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, preserved ever unto this day and to be preserved hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth. 28. last verse. Psal. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thankes unto our most gratious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that even unto us being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the revelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time favourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisedome hidden) which now doeth

enlighten and cherish with the saving beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come unto us. This in briefe (running over the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit, and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we have drawen and that out of the fountaines of Israel.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Islanders converted unto Christ, &c. *Krantzius.*

IT is doubtful unto us whether in these words Kranzius would have said, that ye Islanders were first converted unto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before converted, but saith that it was knowne first unto Adalbert that yeere. But whethersoever of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, unto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather give assent concerning our owne proper and domestical affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzius or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale, (friendly reader) unto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather unto our owne writers. For our countreymen affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domesticall: he writeth matters forreine and unknowen: they have compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne unto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the upbraiding of our nation being most unknowen unto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore, *The most ancient Chronicles of Island.*

that I may make good the credite of our Countreymen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conversion of Island unto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: Thus therefore standeth the certeintie thereof.

Island first inhabited.

In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discovered before that time, as is above mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned up by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400. together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides: neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainely set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did give unto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, rivers. And to be short, what names they gave unto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and used. Therefore the Norwayes with their [I. 573.] company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout: but they remayned Ethnickes almost a 100. yeres, except a very few which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100. yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian Religion began to be considered upon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing above 20. yeres together, was diversly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in converting the Iland to Christian faith: the former was one Fridericus a

Fridericus Saxo the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.

Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaved himselfe couragiously in the office of preaching, and prevailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were used in Island.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt came first into Island in the yeere 997.

And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion. *Anno Domini* 1000.

Againe, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated unto the Islanders by one Ulfliot in the yeere 926.) should every where give place to the Canon or divine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be consecrated bishop of Island.

He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of Schalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of July.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, nor sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to convince the errours of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. And undoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is evident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much unto them: whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the native barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall *A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.*

sobrietie, and use to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know, and commit unto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasuries replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, have compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation: neither despised I to have those men for my judges, whom I knew to be skilfull in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre foorth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we have alledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I. Isleif.	I. Jonas sonne of Augmundus.	
1056.	Consecrated beyond the seas.	Isleif his disciple.	
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt.	Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64. his sirname was Sanctus, unto whose memorie the 3. of March was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of July.		
	II. Gysserus.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.	1121.
1082.	Consecrated beyond the sea.		
1083.	Returneth into Island with	II.	
1118.	his Bishopricke. Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday.	Ketillus or Catullus. Consecrated. Dieth.	1122. 1145.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	III.	III.	
In the yere of his age	Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.	Biorno.	
32.	Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his predecessor Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes	Being consecrated came into Island.	1147.
		Dieth.	1162.
1133.	before his death. Dieth.	IIII.	[I. 574.]
	IIII.	Brandus.	
	Magnus.	Consecrated.	1163.
		Entreth his Episcopall see.	1165.
1134.	Consecrated.	Dieth.	1201.
1148.	On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his parish towne of Hiitardal, the house being striken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire.	V. Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.	
		Elected and consecrated.	1203.
		Dieth.	1237.
	V.	VI.	
	Klaingus.	Botolphus.	
		Returneth consecrated.	1239.
		Dieth.	1246.
1151.	Chosen.		
1152.	Entreth the see.		
1176.	Dieth.	VII.	
	VI.	Henricus.	
	Thorlacus.	Entreth the see.	1247.
	Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.	Dieth.	1260.
1178.	Consecrated.	VIII.	
1193.	Dieth.	Brandus an Abbat.	1262.
		Goeth beyond the seas.	1263.
	VII.	Entreth the Bishopricke.	1264.
	Paulus.	Dieth.	
1195.	Consecrated.		
1211.	Dieth.		
	VIII.	IX.	
	Magnus.	Jerundus.	
		Entreth his see.	1267.
1216.	Consecrated. [IX.	Dieth. [X.	1313.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	IX. Siguardus.	X. Audunnus.	
1239.	Entreth his see.	Entreth his see.	1314.
1268.	Dieth.	Dieth.	1322.
	X. Arnerus.	XI. Laurentius.	
1269.	Entreth his see.	Elected and consecrated.	1324.
1298.	Dieth.	Dieth in the Ides of April.	1331.
	XI. Arnerus sonne of Helgo.		
1304.	Consecrated.	XII. Egillus.	
1305.	Entereth the see.	Entreth his see.	1332.
1309.	Saileth into Norwaie, to crave timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.	Dieth.	1341.
		XIII. Ormus.	
		Entreth his see.	1343.
		Dieth upon the feast of all Saints.	1355.
1310.	Returneth home.		
1320.	Dieth.		
	XII. Jonas Haldorus.	XIIII. Jonas sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.	
1321.	Elected.	Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island.	1358.
1322.	Consecrated the first of August.	This Jonas being before time consecrated bishop	A Bishop of Gronland.
1323.	Entreth his see.	of Gronland, obteined licence of the bishop	
1338.	Dieth.	of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which	
	XIII. Jonas sonne of Indrid a	was at that time vacant.	
1339.	Noruagian borne. Entreth his see.	Whereupon comming	1356.
1341.	Dieth.	and not bringing with him the confirmation	
[I. 575.]	XIIII. Jonas sonne of Siguardus.	of this dignitie and function, received from the	
1343.	Entreth his see.	Pope, hee began to be	
1348.	Dieth on S. Magnus even.	suspected among the	

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	XV. Gyrthus.	priests of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he was sent backe by them into Norway, that the matter might bee set through by the judgement of the king. The king therefore favouring his part, he obteined the bishopricke of Holen.	
1349.	Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo.		
1356.	Going beyond the seas he was drowned.		
	XVI. Thorarinnus.		
1362.	Entreth his see.	He dieth.	1391.
1364.	Dieth.		
		XV. Peter.	
	XVII. Oddgeirus.	Consecrated the same yere wherein his predecessour departed out of this present life.	
1366.	Entreth his see.		
1381.	Dieth upon the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our Saviour.	Entreth the see of Holen. Dieth.	1392.
		XVI. Jonas Wilhelmus English, Either borne or sirnamed.	*An English man Bishop of Island.*
		Entred the see.	1432.
		XVII. Godschalcus.	1457.
	XVIII. Michael a Dane.	Died.	
1385.	Entreth his see.		
1388.	Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke.		
		XVIII. Olaus son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the sisters side, both of them being Norwayes.	1458.
	XIX. William a Dane.	He was established.	1497.
1394.	Entereth the Bishopricke. Dieth.	He died.	
	[XX.	[XIX.	

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	XX.	XIX.	
	Arnerus sirnamed Milldur, that is to say, Liberall. He was at one time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and vicebishop of	Godschalcus. The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his uncle deceased.	
1420.	Holen. He died.		
	XXI.	He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is reported, cruelly to have entreated many of the subjects. In the yeere 1520. when he was in the midst of his cups, and banqueting dishes, & heard that Jonas Sigismundus was departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children, he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had used against his distressed subjects.	1500.
	Jonas Gerickson Sueden either sirnamed or		
1432.	borne, is made Bishop over the Church of Schalholt: and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken by one Thorvaldus de Modruvollum (as it is reported) and a great stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast alive into the river of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was there strangled.		
	XXII.		
1445.	Goswinus bishop of Schalholt.		
	XXIII.		
1472.	Sueno called ye wise, bishop of Schalholt.		
	XXIIII.		
1489.	Magnus sonne of Eiolphus, Bishop, &c.		
	XXV.	XX.	
	Stephen.	Jonas Aræsonius.	
1494.	Entreth the see. Then (living at one time with Godschalchus bishop of	Entreth the see. This man was the last & most earnest mainteiner of Popish superstitions. Who stoutely	1525.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	Holen, who seemed worthy to be sirnamed cruel) he had the same commendations for mercy and justice, that Godschalchus had.	withstanding Gysserus and Martinus bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king Christan the 3. under paine of	
1519.	He died: or thereabout.	banishment to come	[I. 576.]
	XXVI. Augmundus.	with all speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the kings commaundement, hee tooke	
	Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen de-	Martine bishop of	
1522.	ceased. Entreth the see.	Schalholt, and committed him to ward.	
	While he was Bishop, the kings Lieu-tenant with some of his followers being invited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet, was slaine by certaine conspirators: because hee had in all places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke, there ended his life.	At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had provoked) and being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes, by the authoritie of the kings Lieu-tenant beheaded. In	
		revenge whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which were once servants to the parties beheaded.	1551.
	XXVII. Gysserus.		
1540.	Elected, Augmundus yet living.		
1541.	Entred the see.		
	He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages: his	XXI. Olaus Hialterus.	
1544.	owne mariage being solemnized at Schalholt. [XXVIII.	Departed his countrey.	1552.
		Entreth the see.	1553.
		[This	

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	XXVIII. Martinus.	This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour fellow-labourer with him) was the first that kindled the love of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine.	
1547.	Bishop, &c. And the yeeres folowing.		
	XXIX. Gislaus Jonas.		
	This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his youth to be enflamed with ye love of true pietie, & of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of Selardal, diligently to advance the same, by which meanes he did so procure unto himselfe ye hatred of Papists, as being constreined to give place unto their craft & crueltie, he departed over to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding in his former study of divinitie, he lived in the familiaritie, and favour of many, but specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop	He died.	1568.
1556.	there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gave place unto him of his owne accord. This	XXII. Gudbrandus Thorlacius. The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also: who besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath most notably brought the worke begunne, and left unto him by his predecessour Olaus to that perfection which it hath pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of Popish superstitions) even in this his countrey hee is the first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause his countrey (besides, for many
1587.	man died also, having		

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	for the space of 31. yeres or there abouts, professed the Gospel of Jesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God by the sound of his voice onely, but by all other meanes to the utmost of his abilitie, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his wealth & his counsel.	other books translated into our mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounden unto him, that the sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the language of Island. Hee (I say) being at this present, Bishop, when he was about to take his charge:	
		Departed his countrey.	1570.
	XXX.	Returned and entred the see of Holen.	1571.
1588.	Otto Enerus, a grave, godly, and learned man. Being chosen he		
1589.	departeth his country. Hee is consecrated, returneth, and entreth the sea, endevouring himselfe in the labours of his function.		

IN these times therefore light is restored unto our [I. 577.] soules from heaven, and the gate of the kingdome of heaven is opened unto us by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renoumed King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the sonne following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called up to his heavenly countrey in the yeare 1588, have beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the

favour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred divinitie, are trained up to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches: both of which men, that it would please God long to preserve unto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with fervent prayers beseech him.

The second section.

Munsterus. Krantzius. Frisius. They inhabite for the most part in caves, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They have many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to avoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselves close in their caves, even as the people of Africa doe to avoyde the heate of the sunne. Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

HEre the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe use: namely according to Munster, Krantzius, Frisius &c. Holes and caves of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braveries there is very litle helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainely affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common

unto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepheards, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houses themselves, and the very dwelling places of men, the Islanders have had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, and turfes, untill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay: whenas neither we have woods convenient for building, not yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast upon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieve us: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our necessities: whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon up, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also. As for example: farmes or granges which conteine chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other roomes, as a parler, a stove, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion unto the former. I could here name many of our countrie buildings both large and wide, neither ilfavoured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinesse and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen having a bodie the five pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about five elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the roofe

Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.

Drift wood not so plentifull now, as in times past.

proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most sacred unto us, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestow timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestly exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somwhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I have [I. 578.] heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which having now beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Iland, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. For here the matter seemeth not to require that I should runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them: because being content with our povertie, we render unto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be received of us under a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses, (which Munster, Krantzius and Frisius doe not truely affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pavementes, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

The third section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They and their cattell use all one house, all one foode or victuals, all one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.) Also. They live onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

THese be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee

swallowed these reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface upon Norway, so he casteth up the verie same morsels undigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie cap. 8. Those things which have beene hitherto, although they have sufficiently grieved us, yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malitious devise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to avouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing upon the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also living, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and erronious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witnesse, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that have lived some yeeres amongst us, and have more minde to speake the trueth then to revile our nation: who have seen our houses and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in every particular farme or graunge there were many severall roomes: namely, in those that were most simple and base, seven or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being severed, both by roofes and walles, doe serve for the dayly and houshold affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or three, but almost never of more: whereupon the Reader may easily judge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their cattell have all one house to lie in, when every husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath severall oxe-stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables, lambes-cots separated indifferent spaces one from another, which the servants goe unto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the province of Skagefiord, that under the same roofe, men, dogges, swine and sheepe live all together, it is partly false, and partly no marvell: for sheepe, as

it hath beene sayde, and specially for swine (when as that province hath no swine at all) it is utterly false: for dogges it is no marvell, when as not kings courts were ever, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the seventh section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may justly doubt: when Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the Civilians, namely that we comprehend under the word of Victus all things necessarie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Ulpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same words. But in this place the saide authors call beasts meate by the name of Victus.

But let us see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. We have no labouring cattell besides horses and oxen: these have grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders live by fish, butter, flesh both beefe, and mutton, and corne also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they have not the same foode with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the [I. 579.] sayde writers affirme in these wordes: They and their cattell use all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainely taught.

Island (saith he) conteineth many people living onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Unlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselves slaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the use of the latine tongue doth gainesay, which hath taught us that as men doe eate, so beasts doe feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattel.

But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders live upon grasse and hay? To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought undergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beasts, and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beasts be destitute of their usuall food: as horses are fedde with corne and barley loaves: they will drinke milke also (like unto calves and lambes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will devour any deinty dishes whatsoever. May any man therefore say that men use the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoever things have happened in the time of grievous famine ought not to be recorded in historie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for us to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrie, doe usually live by eating of dogs, mise, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they have often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is some times common to many men with beasts, we will not greatly gainesay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all living creatures: which also in some respect Phisicians doe commende, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselves, nor our saviour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also under the name of Victus) it is no wise common to us with beasts. For nature hath clad them with haires & bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwise naked, stande in neede of clothes to cover their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore have properly beene sayde, that sheepe and we have all one apparell. Men of other countries also weare cloth of sheepes wooll, although it

be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to have common with beasts: but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would have it to be, I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we have hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift upright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselves or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Majesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duety not so highly to regard either the love of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoever, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to give trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be nere unto Schalholt, upon the South shore of Island, three small parishes standing betweene two most swift rivers Thiorsaa and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes, and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere provide all things necessarie for housholde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who, because they want those things at home, and are not able to provide them from other places, are con-

strained to use straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their oxe stalles, & there setting up sheds, & doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enjoye, but are constrayned to use the same common house with their oxen. But for their livelihoode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I have entreated before. This is the lot, & povertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition [I. 580.] whereof is therefore made a common by-worde of the people amongst us, though somewhat injuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that unto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I have to doe with Divines, let that of Salomon suffice, Proverbs 17. verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath beene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongest many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they upbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common unto us with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and have all one father and God.

[The fourth

The fourth section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They leade their lives in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose povertie no man doth envie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, have conveighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they have learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they covet golde and silver like unto our men.

SImplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is given unto us. But it grieveth us that there is found so great a decay of justice, and good lawes, and so great want of governement amongst us, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences: which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconvenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is, of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault: who doe not present these thinges unto his Majestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreover, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For ye Noruagians themselves, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Iland, from whom ye Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and silver coine, so that in old time there was no lesse use of silver and golde with us, then there is at this day.

And it is certaine that before the often navigations of Danes, Germans, and English men unto us, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconveniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heaven and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance. *Corne of old time growing in Island.*

The fift section.

The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth every yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

Munsterus. Krantzius.

IN the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harald Harfagre (which is to say, golden haires or faire clockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian government. For whereas before it was devided into pettie Provinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that governed them, Fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes unto a Monarchie. But when some inhabitants of the countrie, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere above named eight hundred seventie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discovered by some men and found out, but unpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselves Islanders, which name their posteritie reteineth unto this day. And therefore the Islanders lived a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, above sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadours to make the Islanders become tributaries unto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at

The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway.

Haquinus coronatus.

length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed
[I. 581.] homage unto him. And afterward continued alwayes in their promised loyaltie, being subjects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway unto the Danes, they doe honour as their soveraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

The sixt section.

Krantzius. Munsterus.

All things are common among them except their wives.

HEre Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreover, your wit being too hastie in affirming things unknowen, doth here also deminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proveth your over greedie desire of noveltie, of fame and vaine-glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning have used all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subjects: of the seate of justice, and of law-cases which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enjoyned unto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyles and contentions in our courts, and places of judgement in Island concerning goods mooveable, and immooveable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforetime of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late have beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controversies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe,

whose words in the first section were these. Before the receiving of Christian faith the Islanders living according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of justice, which giveth to every man his owne: If by the lawe of justice, then certainely distinctions of properties and possessions must needes have taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously even in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most just and good.

The seventh section.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

ALthough in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they have left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that favour may here be shewed by any man whatsoever (be he never so favourable, and never so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceive. For what should move such great men, following the despightfull lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and unknowen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this untrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselves. For in heaping up this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleeve them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the gravitie and wisedome of these great Clarkes: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster have hitherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before the receiving of Christian faith they lived according to the lawe of nature. Also: that the Islanders lived after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they lived in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seventh section of the former. The seconde marke is, [I. 582.] that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular & naturall affections, that love and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out unto us the law of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull invention, if authenticall: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all divine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we have the commaundement of God, that every man should love his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not love or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if

there ought to bee so great favour, so great estimation, so great love unto our neighbour, then how great affection doe wee owe unto our children? The most neare and inseparable love of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly setled in our mindes, the love of God also commandeth us to have speciall regard in trayning them up (Exod. 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely, that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie: according to the excellent saying of the Poet.

God will have each family,
a litle Church to be.

Also

Of humane life or mans societie,
a Schole or College is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towarde our most deare offspring is plainely seene in the heathen themselves: that whomsoever you totally deprive of this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed unto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the sayles hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the haven, for very anguish cast themselves headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egæus doth testifie this, who when hee sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testifie this, who likewise, upon rumors of the death of his sonne,

hanged himselfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Also Jocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and other authors &c. To these may be added that sentence, Love descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to love his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time have confessed the Islanders to be men (much lesse to be Christians,) they must, will they nill they, ascribe unto them this love and affection towardes their children: If not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them under every brute beast, which even by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great love, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse untruth most notable examples of our owne countreymen: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselves, being received from the Noruagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes under the title Manhelge cap. 5. Whosoever selleth a freeman (any man much more a sonne) unto strangers &c.

Now if any man be driven to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his owne sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being urged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hungerstarved for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countreymen do the same.

The occasion of this slander.

The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst us certaine beggars laden with children (for we have here a great number of them) who in jesting maner for they are much given to trifling talke, might say: Give me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger

[I. 583.]

should aske, What will you give me for it? the begger might answere: I have ten or foureteene children, I will give you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggers useth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes provide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and poverty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of love and mercie have bene performed by many, aswell Islanders themselves as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Julius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I have heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported unto me, that by his good meanes every one of them being bound to a severall trade, proved good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driven to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne, but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the unwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by urgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King. chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Jerusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweet babe, sayth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conveniently reserve thee

in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the government of the Romans, we shall weare out our unhappy dayes under the yoke of slavery. But I thinke famine will prevent captivity. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat unto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make up the calamities of the Jewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reserving the other, &c. Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 6. Now, what man will not beleeve that this unhappy mother would full gladly have passed over this her sonne into the possession of some master or chapman, if she could have happened upon any such, with whom she thought he might have beene preserved? That famine is well knowen which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof converted their wives and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their hearts have solde for other victuals. That famine also is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851 (Vincent. lib. 25. cap. 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to devoure his owne sonne. It is well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the seventh, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would devoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grievous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children unto the most bloudy and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slavery: and some are sayd to have taken their children, whom they could no longer

sustaine, and with cruell mercy to have cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly unto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreame and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed unto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leave of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wish that the love of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streetes: I will not say in Churches: which fashion Cæsar blamed in certaine strangers, whom he saw at Rome carrying about yoong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend, who bestow upon beasts these naturall [I. 584.] affections, wherewith they should be invited to the love of mankinde, and specially of their owne ofspring: which strange pleasure never overtooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde us out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

[The eight

The eight section.

Krantzius. Munsterus. They honour their Bishop as their King: unto whose command all the whole people have respect. Whatsoever he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily observe.

THere was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reverence had unto the bishop; but never so great, that our politique lawes at the bishops command should give place to outlandish lawes & customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some under their subjection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreover, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reverence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the devill assaulteth men after another sort, and even here amongst us, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and perverse stubburnnesse against God, and his holy ministry.

The ninth section.

Munsterus. They live there for the most part upon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there use stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

COnsider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe upon one string, that when he can write nothing of an unknowen nation which may cary any

shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, & so to become tedious unto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders live upon fish. His words above recited were these: Island conteineth many people living onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted: whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marveilously encrease. But these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, unto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answere, Sect. 15.

The tenth section.

The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they grave them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature. *Munsterus. Krantzius.*

There be divers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play upon the lute, who with their delectable musicke do ensnare and take both fowles and fishes. *Frisius.*

WE denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserved in the songs and poemes of our countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things have beene engraven by us, or by our ancestours, in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise to be due unto us, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be the part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge undeserved praise unto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered. *The Islanders preserve in writing the acts of their ancestors.*

The eleventh section.

BUt now, let this be the end of our controversie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately have entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

[I. 585.] But yet there remaines that viperous German brood the mother whereof would have it come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venemous sting.

Moreover, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I have all men to know with what minde I undertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common proverbe:

> I know, that if I strive with dung most vile,
> How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile)

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, even strangers themselves, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or have heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who use those venemous Germaine rimes to the upbrading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debasing of us Iselanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped up in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Islanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that

the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and divers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore have beene examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens eares to tingle at his leud and unseemely rimes: they that are desirous to see or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

The first objection or reproch.

First therefore, this our goodly Germane Historiographer objecteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours use to preach but five times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be judge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarse seene Island. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth unto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant lived in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in use then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarsely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be understood concerning the Psalmes of David mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth us in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their salvation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with us: although we cannot

altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countreymen or no, let other nations judge.

The twelfth section.

The second reproch. Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

ALthough indeed these most filthy abominations, even in our common wealth, be not altogether unusuall: notwithstanding, since all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did undeservedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countreymen.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this jugler, by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely, that these vices by the Iselanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to observe the law contained in our statute booke under the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoever committeth adultery with another mans wife the second time, his goods being [I. 586.] confiscate, he shall be punished with death? Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dallers upon a servant committing adultery with his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed, that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed, he shalbe banished the countrey? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streightly command that whosoever be according to

law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall undergoe the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enjoyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to have payed, if he had shed the innocent bloud of the sayd party? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof have noted and condemned adultery under the name of a most heinous offence? and do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an injurious Notary we have, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserveth not the name of sinne and wickednesse: for although some officers let slip this or that vice unpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or evill spoken of.

The thirteenth section.

The third reproch.

The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

DOubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to utter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had travailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are joyned together, and he hath sufficiently proved himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peradventure himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into

Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I have not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the undeserved reproches of others against our nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

The foureteenth section.

The 4, 5, 6, & 7 *reproches.*

Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests use to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to every one a chamber-pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreover, he noteth much unmanerlinesse of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he objecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women lie altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands and their faces in pisse.

Seventhly, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birth-dayes, and our customes at burials.

THese, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer spued foorth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserved right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answere unto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde unto) that this worthy Germane notarie observed some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conversant then with good and honest persons (for he had lived, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long upon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by

the wicked behaviour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knavery of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also usually do) then that it should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselves, who are not a little conversant in our Iland, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, unmannerly, and baudie fashions noted by others even in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the [I. 587.] disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew my selfe such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light words. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to object against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should travell thorowout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most leud maners, the robberies, manslaughters, murthers, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what marvaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may give him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I say) hath bewrayed his nature and disposition in such like reproches? For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roses, or any other most beautifull and sweet flowers; but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tosse up and downe whatsoever durt and dung they can finde, untill they have rooted up most uncleane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily

glut themselves: Even so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth over the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the woorst, and those which have beene committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed shew himselfe to be the same which we have termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped up together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enjoy the name of a swine.

The fifteenth section.

The ninth reproch.

WEe will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawen from the maner of living, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large invective: namely, that they eate olde and unsavoury meates, and that, without the use of bread. Also, that they eate divers kinds of fishes which are unknowen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarse vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly object it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will divide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that susteine both themselves, and, amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them: neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we have also a law among the canons

apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the observing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very devout.

Moreover, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and have bene used by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarse meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being environed with the most streight siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Navarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum: insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a morter, they mingled therewith a handfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowen also of other nations, who in the like urgent necessities have lived by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we have absteined from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we provide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, & no sustenance, or very little, is brought unto us by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarsity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grievous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst us which used to live from hand to mouth, and had not some provision of former yeeres remaining, have beene driven to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the judgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreover, whereas divers use to object concerning [I. 588.]

the proper & accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt: also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chast and temperate minds, although we have not any great varitie of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to live moderately) we confesse it to be even so: namely that the foresaid kinds of victuals are used in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselves, when they are among us do use to eat them with delight. For albeit for the most part we have no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the provocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to us all: yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way, how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and susteining of us Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

Want of salt in Island.

The Islanders meanes of preserving their meates without salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should upbraid us in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter unto our deinty mouthes: but rather we give him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant even unto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and convenient nourishment, and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren,

as the philosophers seeme to assigne unto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countreymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) envious poverty did not holde us downe.

But here the judgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceive (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise: namely, that whatsoever their use doth not admit, or that they have not seene, nor had triall of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that never saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea: so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their lives. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we have heard of certeine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus & Megastenes have named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that live upon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.

The sixteenth section.

TEnthly, that uncivill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about mony with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be enterteined in a strange place, and to have meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreover, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders have *The tenth reproch.*

built in their owne houses: & that first of all in the morning, they have recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they have done their devotion, to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace unto the Islanders. And no marvell:

> For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,
> And hogs uncleane regard not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last objections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witnesse of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him unto his booke of rimes against Island, which we have now examined in our former sections: at whose railing & filthy speeches we have bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical? nay sathanicall biting and reviling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for us to repeat: so great & abominable is his insolency, & his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoever shall view this cart-lode of slanders (for we have mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answere a foole according to his [I. 589.] foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not judge the authour of this pasquill to have bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I have just occasion to doubt whether the authour of these revilings hath bene the more injurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof Joachimus Leo (and whatsoever else they be who in their editions dare neither professe their owne name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twise, if not oftner, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe unpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Ham-

burg? What? Have you determined to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeeres, by reason of your aboundant traffique with us, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeves and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene unto your Citie in stead of a storehouse? In times past also, certaine Cities of England and of Holland have reaped the commodities of this Isle: Moreover, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they never gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are conteined in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought foorth, iterated, if not the thirde time published: which hath armed other people, unto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdaine and contempt of this our Nation: and this injurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island susteined these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet susteine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieved at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not have done unto thy selfe: and to the lawes Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enjoyned a most grievous penaltie unto those, who invent, write, utter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently upon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

The commodities of Island.

The ancient traffique of England with Island.

Lawes against libels.

But now time bids us to sound a retreat: and to returne home unto thee Island (our most deare mother) whom neither povertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconveniences shall make ircksome unto us, so long as thou ceasest not to give heartie and willing entertainment unto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and love of God, and of the heavenly knowledge reveiled unto us in Christ:

that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contemne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reverence, cherish, and love them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both private and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that unto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed: and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe upon that levell and line of equitie and justice, and avoyding others, who upon stubbernesse and impietie swerve therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict just punishments upon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will have respect unto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approved fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adjoyne unto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconveniences may fitly be prevented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and unfit men being altogether rejected; the condition of the subjects shalbe most prosperous: the lives and maners of all men shal prove by so much the more commendable: godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the government of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or avarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or convicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or unjust favourers of such persons as are suspected and convicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What wil be thy outward shew or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approch to thy ruine and destruction,

then if thou committest thy selfe to the government of such men, who to the uttermost of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly seeke thine overthrow for their owne private advantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to advertise my deare Country, how behovefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilest I am speaking these things unto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Majestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending unto themselves. But we [I. 590.] will commit all these matters to the most just Judge of heaven and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloved Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours employed in thy service, and accept them with that favourable and courteous minde which I have expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet sith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore give over because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatsoever it be (if it be ought) and how micklesoever which for my slender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppresse it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

> To overgrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,
> Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute.

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any

thing availe to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my travaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my native Countreymen, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselves to write, howsoever my fame shalbe obscured, yet will I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to have speciall regard of his name and fame, yet is he to have more of his Countrey, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selves to be in safetie.

Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the grave and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reverendissimo viro, eruditione & virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Ecclesiæ Harevicensis in Anglia pastori vigilantissimo, fratri & symmystæ observando.

Irabar equidem (ut conjicis, reverende domine pastor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Cæterùm, cum ulterius progrederer, comperi me, si non aliter, certè nomine tenùs, tibi (quæ tua est humanitas) innotuisse: Simúlque quòd te nominis Islandorum studiosum experirer, ex animo gavisus sum. Undè etiam faciam, ut tua pietas, tuúmque nomen, de Evangelio Jesu Christi nobis congratulantis, déque gente nostra tàm benignè támque honorificè sentientis & scribentis, apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimenta attinet, quæ hîc extare creduntur, nihil sanè est (præter illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu scriptuvè dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, præter historiam Regum Noruegiæ, seu veriùs ejusdem historiæ fragmenta; quæ aliis alitèr descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, ubi ‖ Biarmlandia nuncupatur, & à qua haud vasto intervallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exercuisse, & eam terram tempore Pontificiorum suos Episcopos habuisse annales nostri testantur. Cætera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama est, vestris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis esse in Gronlandia negotiationes: de qua re, si me certiorem feceris, non erit injucundum. Etiam velim quæcunque nova erunt de rebus vestratium aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

Commentarius brevis de Islandia: per Arngrimum Jonam Islandum editus, 1593.

‖ *Biarmia.*

Gronlandis olim suos habuit Episcopos.

Vale fœliciter (reverende Dom. pastor) Deo, musis, & commisso gregi quàm diutissime superstes, Amen. Ex Islandia in festo visitationis D. Mariæ Anno 1595.

Human. tuæ studiosus Gudbrandus Thorlacius
Episcopus Holensis in Islandia.

The same in English. [I. 591.]

To the reverend, learned, and vertuous, Master Hugh Branham minister of the Church of Harewich in England, his brother and felow-pastour. &c.

I Much marveiled (even as your selfe, reverend sir, conjectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether unknowen unto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least (which proceedeth of

your courtesie) knowen unto you: And also, for that I sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of us Islanders, I greatly rejoyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with us for the Gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so lovingly and honourably of our nation) may cease hereafter to be unknowen amongst us.

This is the briefe Commentarie of Jonas Arngrimus immediatly going before.

As toúching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede, nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island, which you write unto me that you have seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we have litle to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others have otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Krantzius never mentioned: unlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreover, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our auncestours; that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called ‖ Biarmlandia, and from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewise doe testifie that our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot avouch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely voyages unto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to give me further advertisement, you shall doe me an especial favour. Moreover, whatsoever newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make us acquainted therewith. Thus (reverend sir) wishing you long life, for the service of God, for

‖ *Biarmia.*

Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.

the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you farewel. From Island upon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island.

The miraculous victory atchieved by the English Fleete, under the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Upon the Spanish huge Armada sent in the yeere 1588. for the invasion of England, together with the wofull and miserable successe of the said Armada afterward, upon the coasts of Norway, of the Scottish Westerne Isles, of Ireland, of Spaine, of France, and of England, &c. Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran in the 15. booke of his history of the low Countreys.

Aving in part declared the strange and wonderfull events of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere atchieved, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, having a long time determined the same in his minde, and having consulted thereabout with the Pope, set foorth and undertooke against England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it unto his catholique Religion, and by that

meanes might be sufficiently revenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (having 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for divers other injuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recover his heredetarie possession of the lowe Countreys, having restrained the inhabitants from sayling upon the coast of England. Which verily, upon most weighty arguments and evident reasons, was thought would undoubtly have come to passe, considering the great aboundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed unto them. But now let us describe the matter more particularly.

[I. 592.]

The preparation of the Spanish King to subdue England and the lowe Countreys.

The Spanish King having with small fruite and commoditie, for above twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellers thereabout, thought it most convenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Unto the which expedition it stoode him nowe in hand to joyne great puissance, as having the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to invade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escovedo, and by divers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitives, that the conquest of that Iland was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoveful for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had given commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing up of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to use warlike weapons, in leavying and mustering of souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, and brought it into Lisbon haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Navie was put in print and published by the Spaniards; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gunpoulder, of victuals, and of all their Navall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Unto all these were added the names of the Governours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchase unto themselves in that Navie (as they termed it) invincible, endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselves of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into divers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or briefe rehearsall thereof.

The number and qualitie of the ships in the Spanish Fleete, with the souldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.

Portugal furnished and set foorth under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, under the conduct of John Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, under the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Levant Islands, under Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, under Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, under the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, under the conduct of John Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, under Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasses containing 1200. gally-slaves, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, under Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-slaves, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, under Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides the ships aforementioned there were 20. caravels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary services unto the greater ships: insomuch that [I. 593.] all the ships appertayning to this Navie amounted unto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently provided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the saide Fleete were above 8000. of slaves 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible

LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM

capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thousand tunnes.

A description of the Galeons.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themselves at all assayes. The upperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of plankes and ribs foure or five foote in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward prooved true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

A description of the Galliasses.

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaves for the same purpose, and were able to do great service with the force of their Ordinance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

The great Ordinance, bullets, gun-poulder, and other furniture.

Their pieces of brasen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muskets and kaleivers 7000. Of haleberts and partisans 10000.

Moreover they had great store of canons, double-canons, culverings and field-pieces for land services.

Their provision of victuals and other things necessary.

Likewise they were provided of all instruments necessary on land to conveigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoever else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well stored of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall every moneth; whereof the whole summe amounteth unto an hundreth thousand quintals.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese three thousand quintals. Besides fish, rise, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreover they had 12000. pipes of fresh-water, and all other necessary provision, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the battery of gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Navie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him every day 30. thousand ducates.

A Spanish terza consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

There were in the said Navie five terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) under the commaund of five governours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies under their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands

also of Castilians and Portugals, every one of which had their peculiar governours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, under grievous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Navie: some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Navie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bovadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else perteined unto the hospitall. [I. 594.]

Over and besides the forenamed governours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine unto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiva, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yelvas, and divers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordova, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made

great preparation in the low Countreys, to give ayd & assistance unto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanels to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that service: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled above a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to have brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conveyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the river of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serve to cary 30. horses, having eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburgh, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to joyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greveling provided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and joyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping up of havens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover not farre from Neiuport haven, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up

of a mount. The most part of his ships conteined two ovens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of sadles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serve to convey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Neere unto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount unto 56. bands, every band containing a hundreth persons. Neare unto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of sir William Stanlie an English knight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Unto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselves: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silva, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgrave, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item John Medices base sonne unto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Savoy, the duke of Savoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low Countries.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they use to do against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These

vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the devill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there [I. 595.] be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of Defensor fidei, upon the king of Spaine, giving him charge to invade it upon this condition, that hee should enjoy the conquered realm, as a vassal and tributarie, in that regard, unto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, unto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne native countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning upon the arrival of the Spanish fleete, to have it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Majestie was by them most unjustly deprived of all princely titles and dignities, her subjects being enjoined to performe obedience unto the duke of Parma, and unto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England, and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her majestie and the Spanish king.

A treatie of peace, to the end that England and the united provinces might be secure of invasion.

Against which treatie the united provinces making open protestation, used all meanes possible to hinder it,

alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemie now pressing upon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious unto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and navigation, as for the avoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and upon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to divert some other way, or to keepe backe the navy now comming upon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoever it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many English & Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the united provinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gave eare unto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this navie was provided to conduct and waft over the Indian Fleets: which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to adventure those huge and monstrous ships upon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

Her majesties warlike preparation by sea.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified unto her Majestie in plaine termes that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now most certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Majestie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furnish her own ships of warre, & the principall ships of her subjects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the

whole navy she sent unto Plimmouth under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Dover and Caleis.

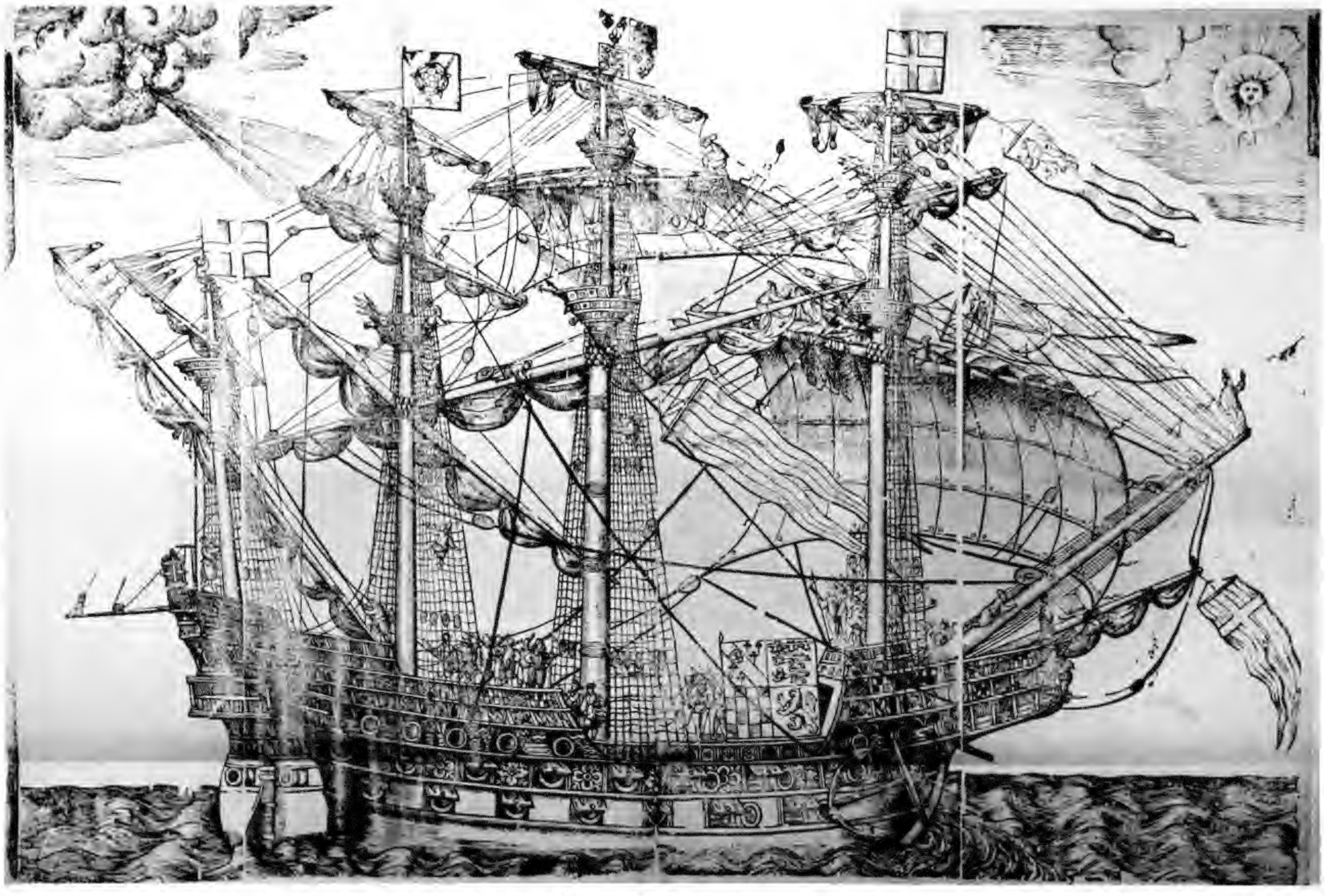
Her Majesties land-forces.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly given out that the Spaniard having once united himselfe unto the duke of Parma, ment to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex over-against Gravesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Majestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather divine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

The principall catholique Recusants (least they should stirre up any tumult in the time of the Spanish invasion) were sent to remaine at certaine convenient places, as [I. 596.] namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent unto other places, to wit, unto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Majestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gave expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the united provinces.

The provinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giving credite unto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge,



THE ARK ROYAL.

they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherfore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and above, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile upon their rivers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greveling and almost unto Caleis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the government of them unto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to joine himselfe unto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Dover and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkerke) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. brave Musquetiers, having bene accustomed unto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue foorth with his navy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

The Spanish fleete set saile upon the 19. of May.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, aliâs the Groine of Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike provision, this port being in Spaine the neerest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was re-

turned unto his company, he could not escry above 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle joyned themselves, except eight which had their mastes blowen over-boord. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their governours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so those slaves arriving in France with the three Gallies, set themselves at libertie.

They set saile from ye Groine upon the 11. *of July.*

The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groine, & receiving daily commandement from the king to hasten their journey, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their smal ships unto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English pinasse, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Captaine Fleming.

Moreover, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had received letters from the court, signifying unto him that her Majestie was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that upon her

Majesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships unto Chattam.

The L. Admirals short warning upon the 19. of July.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) tocome on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the haven. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to have staied themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie have bene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutinie, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily have conveied his ships.

The 20. of July.

[I. 597.]

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressely commanded to unite themselves unto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his

owne Province and Porte for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoulds were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the conveniencie of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes.

The Spanish captives reported that they were determined first to have entred the river of Thames, and thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Majestie and popish catholiques, or some favourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most justly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often advertising the duke of Parma of their approch, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind

THE FIRST ACTION IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL AGAINST THE ARMADA
21st July 1588

of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following which was the 21. of July, the English ships approched within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging upon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was faine to come up rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, & thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceived it, hee cleanly conveyed himselfe out of that great danger. *The 21. of July.*

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, where- *The 22. of July.*

unto hee sent foorth his pinnasse, and being advertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with
[I. 598.] him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should proove Drake to be no dastard.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ship & company taken.

Upon which answere Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooved with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were caried unto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ransome.

Valdez comming unto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most favourable unto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisedom, which ever attended upon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained unto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gave him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to have put into Plimmouth haven, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the

English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselves that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marveled much how the English men in their small ships durst approch within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie woodden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captives into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand ducates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselves.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunnepowder and other warrelike provision. The upper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could overtake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada governour of the foure Galliasses, made humble sute unto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought

not good to permit unto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and charge.

The 23. of July. Upon Tuesday which was the three and twentie of July, the navie being come over against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler Ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves and to make hast unto the place prescribed unto them, which was neere unto Dunkerk, that they might joine forces [I. 599.] with the duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small shippes under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee spake unto him in these wordes: Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conversant in many Sea-fights.

A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English. In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English navie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and

SIR HORATIO PALLAVICINI

men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Harvie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted unto an hundreth: which when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

The 24. of July. The foure and twentie of July when as the sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleasses, with many other such Stratagemes. They were nowe constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great skarcitie, by reason they had so frankely spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should bee devided into

foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the lord Admirall: the second, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and folowing close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25. of July. The five and twentie of July when the Spaniardes were come over-against the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Jonas under the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe unto the lord Admirall: the Beare under the lord Sheffield nephew unto the lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised up their sayles, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaved himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage. [I. 600.]

The 26. of July. For which cause the day following, being the sixe and

twentie of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall received intelligence from Newhaven in France, by certaine of his Pinnasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide unto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of July. The Spaniards ancre before Caleis.

The seven and twentie of July, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come over-against Dover, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to joyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleete following up hard upon them, ancred just by them within culvering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer united himselfe unto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish navie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina sent certaine messengers unto the duke of Parma, with whom upon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land: and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away upon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleetes arrivall upon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading

himselfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the governement of the Lowe countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vowes unto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blind devotions sake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July.

The 28. of July.

The 29. of July.

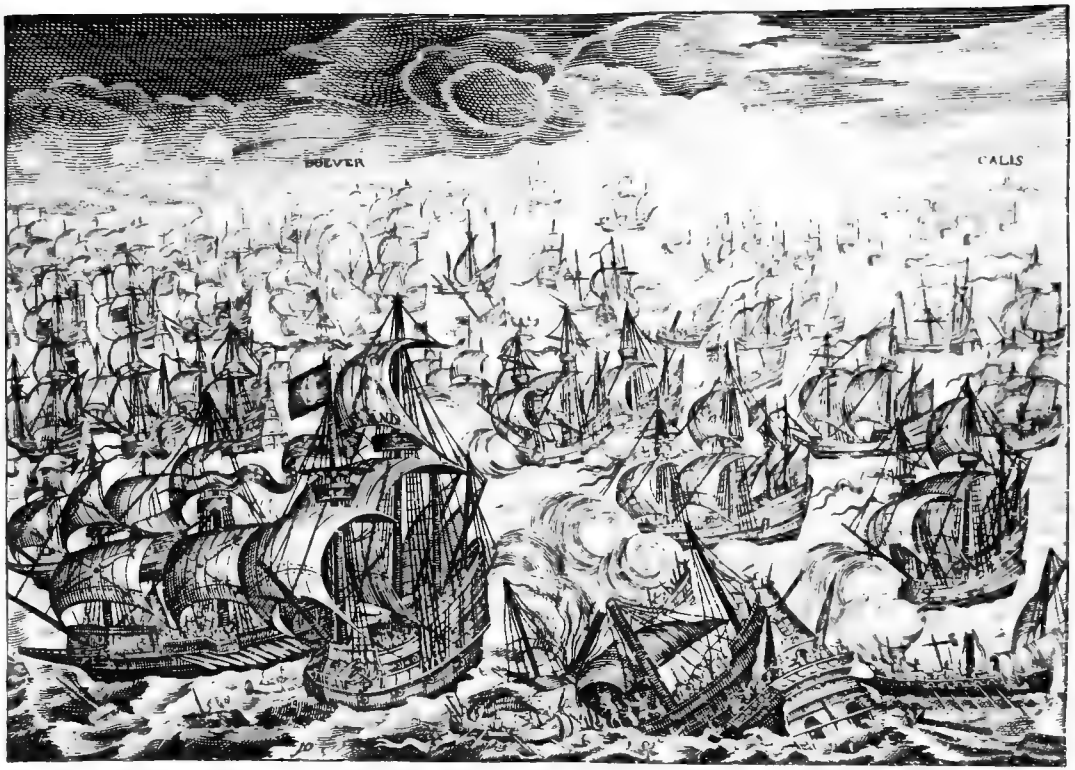
The next day travelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.

The 30. of July.

Upon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of July, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come foorth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of five and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde under the conduct of the Admirall Justin of Nassau.

The foresayd five and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred Musketiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom they knew to have bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This navie was given especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet unreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English Fugitives being seven hundred in number under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have bene embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to



THE FLEETS AT CLOSE QUARTERS

depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which shippes, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, least that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them judged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven.

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet. [I. 601.]

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Navie have betaken themselves to flight, yeelding them sea roome, and endevouring onely to defend themselves, their havens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the river of Thames; upon the bankes whereof having at his first arrivall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily have woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should have followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to overcome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from

the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeelded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to have mette with some rebels against her Majestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists, and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the favourers of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would have stirred up seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Majesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst & basest ships which came next to hand, & disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and firy matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships upon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horrour (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederic Jenebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of

The 28. of July.

Parma his bridge, built upon the river of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising up their sailes, they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine sea.

The galliasse of Hugo de Moncada cast upon the showlds before Caleis.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld upon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers.

M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the galliasse.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers under the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the governour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping over-boord into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of the fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of

[I. 602.] their fetters, the English men would have set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the governor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Haven, would not permit them to do, but drave them from thence with his great ordinance.

The great fight before Greveling the 29. of July.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English ; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards : who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conjoyned and united together, standing onely upon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarse were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder : & so continually giving them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conjoyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themselves, in chasing the Spaniards

THE FINAL BATTLE OFF GRAVELINES
29TH JULY 1588

first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to have hindered them from joyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to have driven them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage having many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Navy sayled upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabben was twise shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culvering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote unto her Majestie that in all humane reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish shippes suncke in the fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among

the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the governours of the same shippe slew one another upon the occasion following: one of them which would have yeelded the shippe was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

Two galeons taken and caried into Zeland.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seven or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell over two and thirty bands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselves to their skiffe, arrived at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Ulishingers.

[I. 603.] In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother unto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were scarse 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot: this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greveling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault

courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next unto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding wherof, and to save his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken & separated from his admirall, he endevored what he could to attaine unto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe unto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe unto Peter Banderduess & other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd captaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

A small shippe cast away about Blankenberg.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus almighty God would have the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The dishonourable flight of the Spanish navy: and the prudent advice of the L. Admirall.

The 29 of July the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships stil following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet untill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder & shot, returned backe for England; leaving behinde them certaine pinasses onely, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to observe their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich: for they had bene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The

The English returne home from the pursute of ye Spaniards the 4 of August.

English now going on shore, provided themselves foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne home. [I. 604.]

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people and having divers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise having lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naval furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serve them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

For they well understood, that commandement was given thorowout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certaine Scotish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules overboord: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the

Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course over the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary windes, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

The shippe-wracke of the Spaniardes upon the Irish coast.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saved: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasses but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned

Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.

home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven; and such like mishaps did many others undergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconveniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arrivall. The Duke of Medina immediatly upon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repaire unto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowme deceased soone after their returne; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrival; & among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne unto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Upon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother unto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman unto the earle of Beneventum & Calva, and Colonell over 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captive, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silva, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

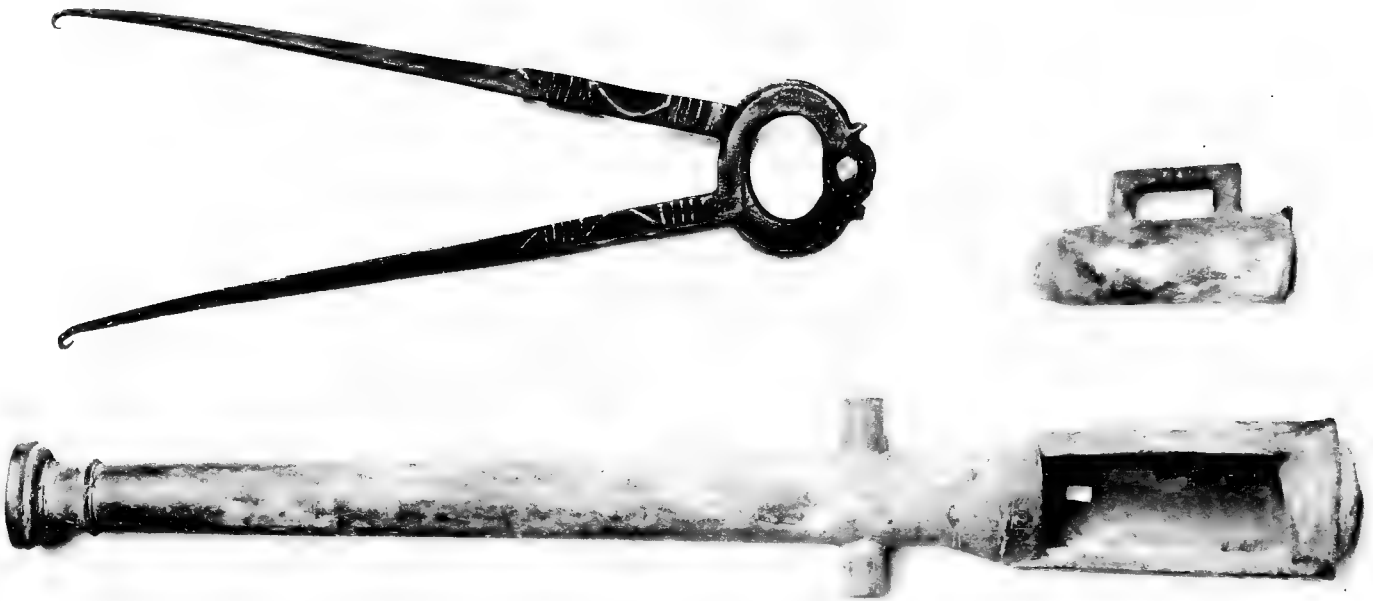
Likewise upon the Scotish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre upon the maine land,

there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of [I. 605.] which were saved divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought unto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scotish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time untill the Councels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and divers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordova, who were committed unto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palavicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be raunsomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinseman.

New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards overthrow.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Silver and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be given to God onely.



COMPASSES AND BREECH-LOADING GUN FROM THE SPANISH GALLEON 'FLORENCIA'

FOUND IN TOBERMORY BAY JUNE 1903

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giving thanks unto God upon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

The people of England and of the united provinces, pray, fast, and give thanks unto God.

While this woonderfull and puissant Navie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enjoyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were observed thorowout the united Provinces.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majestie, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enjoyned to resort unto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was observed upon the 29 of November; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Majestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnely by all the principall

estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gave thanks unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

[I. 606.] Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sayled not upon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Majesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.

STraverat innumeris Hispanus navibus æquor,
Regnis juncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanti hujus, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Avaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumidæ vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis avaros,
Hausit inexhausti justa vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius una, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge juvare pios,
Ut te Angli longùm, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bend her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as never seene before:
And all to joyne the kingdome of that land
Unto the kingdomes that he had in hand.
Now if you aske what set this king on fire,
To practise warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and never quencht desire,
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which farre above the heavens did swell,
And his desire as unsuffic'd as hell.
But well have windes his proud blasts overblowen,
And swelling waves alayd his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs unknowen,
Devoured the devourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray unto the sand,
That meant to pray upon anothers land.

And now, O Queene, above all others blest,
For whom both windes and waves are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enjoy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

[I. 607.] A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage unto Cadiz, 1596. of the overthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

Fter that the two most Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come unto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with divers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portingall, young Count Lodovick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir John Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending upon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, as well for the new furnishing and revictualing of her Majesties Royall Navie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from divers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it should seeme the Rendevous for all the whole Fleete, thereto complete the full number of al such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wisedomes thought meete and agreed upon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a most zealous and diligent care had for the holy service of God, dayly and reverently to be frequented: and also for other good and civill orders of militarie discipline to be observed, to the exceeding great comfort and rejoycing of all the hearts of the godly and well disposed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due observation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8. or 9. of the same moneth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre pleasant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themselves, rising as it was supposed, upon their drinke, was by order of Martiall law, presently tyed to the partie so murthered, and foorthwith both of them so cast into the sea.

Moreover, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will forbeare) was by sound of Drumme publikely in all the streetes disgraced, or rather after a sort disgraded, and cashierd for bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine prest souldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more unfit for service, and of lesse sufficiency and abilitie. This severe executing of justice at the very first did breed such a deepe terror in the hearts of the whole armie, that it seemed to cut off all occasion of the like disorder for ever afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure from Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, and make knowen to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch,

English and Spanish tongue, what were the true, just, and urgent causes, that at this time provoked her Majestie, to undertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Navie, annexing thereunto a full declaration, what was their good will and pleasure should be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne private present daungers, or else were willing to avoyde her Majesties future indignation and displeasure.

Likewise now, at the same instant, their owne most provident and godly decrees, which they had devised for the honest cariage of every particular person in their degrees and vocation, were made knowen to all men, and published in sundry writings, with divers great punishments, set downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and breakers of the same.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and devoutly called upon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being divers times most reverently and publikely celebrated: These two most noble personages, with all their honorable Associats, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furnished with 150. good sayle of shippes or thereabout: In the name of the most High & ever-
[I. 608.] living God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Majesty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowme of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of June embarked themselves, weighed Ancre, and hoysed up sayle, and put to sea onward their journey from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting foorth, seemed very favourable: but yet in the evening growing very scant, and all that night falling more and more against us, and we having sayled no further then to a certaine place

called Dodman head: we were constrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in English, touching this present Action, and made by her Majestie, as it was voyced: The prayer seemed to me to be most excellent, aswell for the matter, as also for the manner, and therefore for certaine divers good motives which then presently came to my minde, and whereof hereafter in his more convenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at that very instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, & wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over-suretie of harme might breed either daunger to us, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the returne the advancement of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these devout petitions Lord give thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation is thus.

SUmmè præpotens Deus, immensæ hujus totius nostri mundi molis fabricator & Rector, qui solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, & ad fundum usque nostrarum cogitationum explorando penetras, ac in eis,

quid verè, & ex animo cogitemus, & quæ sint actionum nostrarum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni æternitate præscientia, vides, quòd nec aliqua ulciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec injuriarum referendarum, desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicujus lucri, quæstusve aviditus ad istam classem præparandam, & emittendam nos commoverit: sed potiùs, quòd provida quædam cura, solersque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectus, vel status nostri firmitatis nimium secura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam & honorem, aut nobis damnum & periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc sint nostri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentemque injeceris, ut istud aggrederemur: curvatis genibus a te humillimè petimus, ut velis hoc nostrum incœptum secundissimè fortunare, totum iter prosperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem & expeditam victoriam nobis concedere, reditumque talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis & nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, & illis famæ, laudisque triumphum, & Regno nostro firmam tranquillitatem possit apportare: idque cum minimo Anglorum sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, Domine, sacrosanctam & annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I have said, the third of June very early in the morning, having a reasonable fresh gale of winde, we set sayle, and kept our course againe, and the ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North cape, in a maner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliii. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee descried from the land: There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and shooting off of a great warning peece. Of this select or privie Councell, were no moe then these: The two Lords Generall,

ROBERT DEVEREUX EARL OF ESSEX 1601

the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lorde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary master of the Ordinance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the sayde Counsell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to [I. 609.] call a common Counsell (as often times they did upon weightie matters best knowen to their honours) then they would cause an other kinde of flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redcrosse of S. George, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demaunded, in such matters as appertayned unto this sayd select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sayling should foorthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowen.

At that very instant many letters of instructions were addressed and sent to every particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contentes of those letters of instructions were it was not as yet knowne unto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or knowen of any of us. But under the titles and superscriptions of every mans particuler letter these words were endorsed. Open not these letters on pain of your lives, unles we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these letters did conteine in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or coulde so much as suspect it, more then themselves, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in my judgement of greatest moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I meane, to entertaine those two

vertues, Fidem, & Taciturnitatem : so much commended by the old writers. And if there was ever any great designement, in this our age, and memorie, discreetly, faithfully, and closely caried, I assure my selfe it was this, and though it were but in respect of that poynt onely : yet for such faithfull secrecie, it deserveth immortall praise.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being devided into five squadrons : that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did every day separate themselves of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such shippes as were happily under sayle, as also for the better procuring of sea-roome : yet alwayes commonly eyther that day, or the next day, towarde evening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to an other : which they terme by the name of Hayling : a ceremonie done solemnly, and in verie good order, with sound of Trumpets and noyse of cheerefull voyces : and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents, as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I sayde, our journey was most prosperous, and all our shippes in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her foreyarde, and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosse had in a manner the like mischance.

Nowe being thus betweene the North cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie us : The tenth of June, a French Barke, and a Fleming comming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our companie : but they were both of them very honourably and well used by the Lords Generall : and so after a fewe dayes tarrying, were

peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes.

The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Levison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slewe two of them, and hurt eleven, and in the ende brought them all three in : and this was the very first hansell and maydenhead (as it were) of any matter of importance, or exployt woorthy observation that was done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was so well perfourmed of those most worthy Gentlemen, as every man highly commended them for their great valure, and discretion, and no lesse rejoyced at this their fortunate successe.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vale his foretoppe, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end the Swan, wherein the sayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and having spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordinance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almost halfe a league from him : and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the sayd Flemming being in a maner got to the very mouth of the River up to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in [I. 610.] by M. Dorrell, being Captaine of the John and Francis of London. Thus by deviding their squadrons, and spreading the whole sea over a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinke passe but she was espied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little stragling Caravels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer utterly unlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon : the poore wretches were marvellously well used by the Lords

Generall, and that Caravel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to give their attendance, and their Honors did understand what they might of these poore men, of the estate of Spaine for that present.

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the flying fishes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great fishes, then to avoyde the daunger, they presently mount up, and forsake the water, and betake themselves to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not above five or sixe score, or there about, and then they are constrayned to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fish it selfe is about the bignesse of a Mackrell or a great white Hearing, and much of that colour and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that are made either of paper, or parchment, or silke, or other stuffe, which will with certaine pleights easily runne and fold themselves together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L. Admirall by a fisher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I had good leasure and opportunitie to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly from Cadiz, having beene there but the day before at twelve of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were divers of the kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to give his attendance.

The 20. of June being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Navy had not lost either by sicknesse or by any

other maner of wayes sixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked unto, but were a regiment entire of themselves, and by themselves to be provided for, either for their diet, or for the preservation of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June wee came to Cadiz, and there very earely in the morning presented our selves before the Towne, ryding about a league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went marvelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Councell being called, our Lords Generall foorthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light horsemen, pynnesses, and barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure score good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all saved excepting viii. And therefore they were constrayned to put off their landing till an other more convenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire dove upon the maine yard of the L. Admirals ship, and there she sate very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing dismayed all that while, every man gazed and looked much upon her, and spake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no meanes to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boading, as in trueth (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the same towne, another Dove presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to us all, and did so still keepe us company, even till our arrivall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selves, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselves very close to their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our farther determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boysterous, and litle or nothing could be done, more then that about the evening there
[I. 611.] passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very litle.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thorough out the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and favourable, betweene five and sixe of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almightie God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all speed, courage, and alacritie, did set upon the Spanish ships, being then under sayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, up toward Puente de Suaço on Granada side, being in number lix. tall ships, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending upon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy us, and alwayes relieve themselves interchangeably: having likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes readie to play upon us and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful advantage of us, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English miles over or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelves, sands

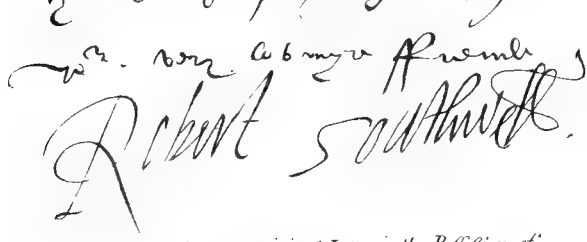
and shallowes in it, so that the very chanell & place for sea roome, is not above 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places, not so much, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground or else constrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and invincible courage, the Lords generall presently set upon them, and sorting out some such convenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times service, they were driven to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore upon a grave consultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue upon so mightie a disadvantage as appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound judgement prevented, & therwithall in their singular wisedomes foreseeing that some great stratageme might be practised by the enemy, either by fire-worke, or some other subtill politike devise, for the hazarding of her Majesties ships of honor in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that most noble L. Howard (whose exceeding great magnanimity, courage, & wisedome, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet courtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me & my weakenes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever have had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, in ye Non Pareille for that time, & the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of marvelous great worth & regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude & great resolutenes in all matters of importance) in the Warspight associated with divers most famous worthy knights, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Martiall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary M. of the Ordinance, in the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage & discretion in all military actions, of as great praise & good desert as any gentlemen of their degree whosoever,

having with them some of ye ships of London, and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, & give the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their convenient time & order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame, deserve to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, upon a sudden & unlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable L. Generall (whose singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie & perfection, as neither can my praise in any part increase them, nor any mans envy any whit blemish or diminish them) understanding, the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, & perceiving by the M. of his ship, the Arke royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called presently for his Pynnesse, and in the same Pynnesse put himselfe, and his honorable son L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie unto, began to yeeld and give over, her men that remained alive shifting for themselves as they were able, and swimming and running a shoare with all the hast that they could possibly, & therewithall, at the very same instant themselves fired their ship, and so left her, & presently thereupon a great Argosie, with an other mighty great ship, fired themselves in ye like maner. Immediatly hereupon, the residue of the ships, ran themselves on ground, as farre from us as they could, and therby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing

[I. 612]

Sir Robert Southwell

From an Original by Henry Cornelius Vroom.



His Autograph from an original Letter in the Poſſeſſion of

John Thane.

space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ship by estimation of some xii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine great victorious overthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselves in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were lix. & as is sayd, all tall ships & very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselves affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute so much unto meere chance, as to some secret deepe insight and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainely mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leave to other mens judgement and report, but sure I am, that themselves offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should have beene received, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, & with what courage performed, and with what terror to the beholders continued, where so many thundring tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leave it to the Reader to thinke & imagine. Yet such was the great mercy & goodnes of our living God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, wherof I will by & by make mention) many above the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding

divers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twentie times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselves. I knowe not of any other hurt done, saving onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a litle too much haste with his Pinnesse to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saved.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings flieboats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himselfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen up by his owne powder, who could not have any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinckling of an eye, both shippe and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saved.

Immediatly upon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex put to shore, and landed about 3000. shot, & pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, under the conduct of three most famous worthy knights, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, & Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with divers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodovick of Nassaw, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes service did most valiantly behave themselves, with all expedition

possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sand in a manner, and beside that, very uneven, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemie having reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stoode in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome us, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such unspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter, whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismayed and astonished at the unexspected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, retyred themselves with all the speede possible that they could, to recover themselves into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to skale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it was not [I. 613.] without great danger and difficulty to be perfourmed: Yet such was the invincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man or els in a maner joined with the first.

The towne walles being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displayed upon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making still their waie with sworde and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at every turne.

Immediately upon this most famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their resolutions, as I take it, put

downe before) was seconded by the noble L. Admirall in person, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the most worthy gentleman his sonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Levison, and with divers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being advanced by that valiant resolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and understanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with al possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeres, the intolerable heate for the time, and the overtiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, joyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gave them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being joyned together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir John Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being caried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head most unfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, & from time to time as they could, still annoying them with seven battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whome the Lords Generall had signified: that unlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselves, they should looke for no mercy, but should every one be put to the sword: upon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day

they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeeld themselves absolutely to their mercy, and delivered up the Castle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were divers great and suddaine alarms given: which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the towne. At every which alarme, the two Lordes Generall shewed themselves marvelous ready & forward, insomuch that at the very first alarme, skant wel furnished with any more defence then their shirts, hose, and dublets, & those too altogether in a maner untied, they were abroad in the streetes themselves, to see the uttermost of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowen (or at the least not well knowen unto me) either wherfore, or by whom these alarmes were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that such a thing was done, may suffice.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there should no kind of violence or hard usage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, upon paine of death: And so permitting the spoyle of so much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine dayes, they were continually in counsell about other grave directions, best knowen to their honorable wisdomes.

This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously observed of the English: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceive betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Sivil and S. Lucar and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as delt with them friendly

by the way of traffick & Marchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Marchants and Owners of the same, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of June, all the Spanish shippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great overthrowe had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themselves there set on fire, and so from that time forward they never left burning of them, till every [I. 614.] one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much marvelled at of us, and so much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and saving of the goods, and it was not to them unknowen that this their offer was not misliked, but in all probabilitie should have bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandement from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselves also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselves to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something up towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect perfourmed, within the compasse, in a maner, of fourteene houres: A thing in trueth so strange and admirable, as in my judgement will rather bee wondered at then beleeved of posteritie. And if ever any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainely in my poore opinion it was this.

Here it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that every mans particular worthy acte in this dayes service, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registred to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and wish I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it also a thing impossible to be precisely perfourmed by any other, I am to crave pardon for that I rather leave it out altogether, then presume to doe it maymedly: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Mappe that is set foorth of this journey, where it is in some parte conveniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and having a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine College of the Jesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better judgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, even from the very foundation to the top, and every house was in a manner a kind of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: having upon the house top, great heapes of weighty stoanes piled up in such good order, as they were ready to be throwen downe by every woman most easily upon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to avoide the intolerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and have very large folding leaves

of wainscot or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roomes of lest account, serving for some necessary uses, either to wash in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, having, as it should seeme unto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselves from all kind of great heat, then how to provide for any store of great roste. It had in it by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I can say nothing to it: Themselves give it out that they understood not of it, but onely by a Caravel the Friday at evening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe so well provided as they were, they would have defended it for one two moneths at the least, against any power whatsoever in al Christendome. But surely GOD is a mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull secret stroke in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether their hearts were killed at the mighty overthrow by sea, or whether they were amased at the invincible courage of the English, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a maner for so many hailestones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the
[I. 615.] English nation, for their dishonorable and divelish practises, against her Sacred Majestie, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begetteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it spoken to their perpetuall shame and infamie,

ANDALVZIA
Sevilla
Granada
Cadiz
Malaga
Tarifa
Gibraltar

there was never thing more resolutely perfourmed of the couragious English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolve the asker: for I confesse that for mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as to be partaker so much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne never a whit the poorer. But as it should appeare by the great pillage by the common souldiers, and some mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby utterly lost and spoyled, as not woorth the carying away, and by the over great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Olives, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rasher sort were knockt out, and lay trampled under feete, in every common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance, not of any such great commoditie to the last subduers, for that I judge that the better part was most ryotously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable device.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, aswell touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisedomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not onely the lives of every one were spared, but also there was an especial care had, that al the Religious, as wel men as women, should be well and favourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported over to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a manner as fayre as Cadiz: but at that time,

as the case did stand, certainely knowen to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seven miles distant over against Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subject to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Moreover, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some convenient Barkes, to transport over to the sayd Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wives, who were suffered to put upon themselves, some of them two, yea, some three sutes of apparell, with some convenient quantitie of many Jewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie, of those most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme unto mee, beating downe that false surmised opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly spread abroad, and setled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other just occasion. Whereas by these their honourable dealings it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a just revenge for the manifolde injuries, and most dishonourable practises that have beene from time to time attempted by them against us and our nation, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they have sought, and daylie doe seeke, by so many sinister and reprochfull devices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Upon Saturday being the 26. Sir John Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre foorth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Navie discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was thought meete and convenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty seventh day being Sunday, in the Abbey the divine service was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete utterance, and even there the same day, something before the sermon was made, these worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes before, and some three or foure moe were knighted after that time, upon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at Cadiz in June 1596 by the two most honourable Lordes Generall. [I. 616.]

SIr Samuel Bagnol.
Sir Arthur Savage.
The Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burk.
Count Lodowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Nevel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leven.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.
Sir Henry Leonard.
Sir Richard Levison.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliver Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.

Sir John Leigh, *alias* Lee. *June* 21. 22.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir James Wootton. 27.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounson.
Sir John Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir John Buck.
Sir John Morgan.
Sir John Aldridg.
Sir John Asshindon.
Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir John Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.

Sir John Townesend.
Sir Christopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir James Escudamor.
Sir Urias Leigh.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir John Stafford.
Sir Robert Lovel.
Sir John Gylbert.
Sir William Harvie.
Sir John Gray.
Don Christ. prince of Portingal
Sir John Vanderfoord, Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. 8. August.

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I have observed, as neere as I could, the just day and time when they were created. And I trust where the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, shal breede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted received their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them upon the sea, not farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood upon their staies for a space, while certaine Pinnasses were sent to descrie what shipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmouth in the open streete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of long service, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are seldome seene to concurre in any.

I spake in ye beginning of her Majesties praier, which I presumed (though unworthy) to translate into Latine: and nowe at this very time, there was some opportunity offered, for to make some use of that translation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending upon my most honourable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeed there were some, though not very many. I

talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a grave aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to have gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so stayed his journey for that time. With these men ever as occasion did serve, I did seeke nowe and then to spende some speech, and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the injuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Majestie, whereby shee was provoked, and in a manner drawen to this action: though otherwise of her own most excellent princely good nature, [I. 617.] she was altogether given to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Majesties praier in Latine, which I had alwaies of purpose ready about me, whereby it might the better appeare unto them, how unwillingly, and upon how great & urgent occasions her Majesty was, as it were enforced to undertake this action: and therewithall I did use now and then to bestow upon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to praise her Majesties good inclination, and earnestly to wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords general to deale exceeding favourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to give him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithal to let him to understand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or unarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings & children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, silver, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only comming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold injuries, & to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to understand, that whensoever they

attempted any base-conceited & dishonorable practise to their soveraigne Queene, their Mistresse, that it should be revenged to the uttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaves, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land: yeelding themselves to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conveied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey understand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Majesty is a most admirable Prince already, over all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole worlde hereafter shall have just cause to admire her infinite Princely vertues, and thereby bee provoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so undoubtedly, that she is to be judged and accounted of us, to be his most sacred handmaide, and chosen vessel. And therefore, whatsoever wicked designement shalbe conspired and plotted against her Majesty hereafter, shalbe thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily frustrate and overthrowen.

The 28. day being Munday, the L. Admiral came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and upon the advise of his Phisition, to deale something in physicke, for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the

Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliverance of English captives, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the saide Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue unto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILlustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram jam nunc esse apud portum S. Mariæ. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris assignatum erat à sereniss. nostra Regina domina mea, ut contra vos, vestrásque copias, Ego solus pro eo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcircò non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, quàm mite quoddam, & humanum bellandi genus, tum hic jam in hoc ipso tempore, adversus hujus loci populum atque incolas usurpaverimus: tum etiam sæpiùs antehac quàm humaniter, benignéque eos omnes tractaverimus, quos ex vestris jure belli captivos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quàm multa millia, etiam gratis, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donaverimus, id putamus omnibus esse testatius, quàm ut à quoquam denegetur. Quocirca, neque ullo modo nobis in mentem venire potest, ut dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem adversus nostros captivos simus reperturi. Cùm igitur nobis compertum jam sit, habere vos in vestris galeris, ex Reginæ nostræ serenissimæ Dominæ meæ subditis unum & quinquaginta captivos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, & ad nos missuri: [I. 618.] ea lege, ac conditione, ut totidem ex vestris hic captivis ejusdem loci atque ordinis, melioris etiam fortassis notæ,

ac conditionis, homuncios, ad vos vicissim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide spondemus, quàm primùm nostros captivos ex vestris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re si nostro desiderio ac voluntati parùm satisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc posthac belli genus ingrediemur, aliúmque bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inviti, & contra voluntatem prosequi. Ex Regia Anglicana classe apud Cadiz ultimo Junii, stilo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

These letters were sent by a Spaniard, and an answere was brought from the Duke with al convenient speed, and as it should seeme by the L. Admirals next answere returned to him in writing, which immediatly hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A copie of my L. Admirals second letter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

ILlustrissime Princeps, literas ab excellentia vestra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò nostra sit ad illas responsio, nobiles isti viri, qui vestras literas ad nos pertulerunt: pleniùs declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus esse penitùs persuasum Excellentiæ vestræ, nos sedulò operam daturos, ut in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatísque genere, expectationi vestræ omni ex parte respondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos nostros captivos attinet, quos ab Excellentia vestra huc ad nos crastino die missum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiæ vestræ, quòd plenius à nobis vestræ voluntati satisfactum erit: & quòd pro illis captivis tales nos captivos vobis remittemus, quales tum ab ipso Dom. Mendoza, tum ab aliis illustrib. viris, qui à Dom. Porta Carero in illorum ad nos favorem mittebantur, communi cum consensu erant ab ipsis approbati. Si verò quis alius jam captivus est vel posthac futurus erit in nostra potestate, pro cujus redemptione nondum plenè conventum est & stipulatum de certo pretio persolvendo: concedimus Excellentiæ

vestræ, ut in hoc etiam casu vos, vestro pro arbitrio, de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Ex Regia classe Anglicana, apud Cadiz, 3. die Julii stylo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of July, the LL. general caused the town of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased & defaced so much as they could, the faire cathedral Church, and the religious houses only being spared, and left unblemished. And with the town al such provision for shipping, & other things, as were serviceable for ye K. use, & yet were not either so convenient for us to be caried away, or els such as we stood no whit at all in need of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently therupon, their Lordships, with as convenient speed as they could, and the whole army in such good order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of July, the LL. general with all the armie being under saile, & now making for England, & but as yet passing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley ful of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met us from Rotta, sent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, & sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not wel placed in the galley, or not wel discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships y^{t} sailed formost, assoone as the said galley came within gunshot, there was a great peece discharged upon her, & at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and 2. other grievously hurt. The error being espied and perceived, our ship gave over immediatly from any farther shooting. Assoone as the galley came neere us, my L. Admiral caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, & willed the captains forthwith to come aboord his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a very fine and honorable banket, as the time and place might serve. And then by them under-

standing of that unfortunate mischance that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very sory for the same, and yet such was the merciful providence of almighty God, that even in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand over the English. And al the harme that was done did light only upon the poore Turk, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted them, hee presently called for his barge, and did accompany the said galley to the Lorde general the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like maner most honorably received, and intertained, the Spanish gentlemen delivered up their prisoners the English captives, of whom some had bin there 6 yere, some 8, or ten: yea, and some 22. yeere, and upward, and some of them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes last voiage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners delivered were but 39. and no mo, and were brought in, and delivered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie Captives, there were no moe delivered then was, I presuppose, (and I thinke it true to) that at that time the residue were farther off in some remote places of Spaine bestowed, and so by that meanes, not able at this time [I. 619.] to bee in a readinesse, but yet like enough that there is some good order taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and sent over into England.

If any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres aliâs Xeres? And why Rotta and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that or this left undone? I will not answere him with our common English proverbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can wel answere in five dayes.

But that grave auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy saying, and it is this: Nemo tentavit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiúsque ac reverentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quàm scire. Which saying, in my fancy, fitteth marveilous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine as yet not farre off to be seene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, albeit in a prety kind of mystical maner uttered: That it befitteth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitive after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawcy and so malapert, as to seeke to dive into their secrets, but rather alwayes to have a right reverend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and theron so resting our inward thoughts, to seek to go no further, but so to remaine ready alwaies to arme our selves with dutiful minds, and willing obedience, to perform and put in execution that which in their deepe insight and heroicall designements, they shall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine upon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs desire to be a little farther satisfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, thus much I dare say and affirme, that upon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left untouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the saluting of such a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing walles, and might well have served rather as a stale, perchance, to have entrapped, then as a meanes to have enriched. And it had bin more then a suspition of follie, for such an army as this, to have sought to fight with the aire, and to have laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with

some evident danger too, to have overthrowen that, which could very litle or nothing have profited, being destroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, untouched.

And thus much for our journey to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said towne, for the overthrowe of the Spanish Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, spoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leave it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as my selfe was not, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

THE SECOND VOLUME

of the

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation,

made to the South and South-east quarters of the world, within the Straight of Gibraltar, with the Directions, Letters, Priviledges, Discourses, and Observations incident to the same

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Christ. M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33. [II. i. 1.]

BRitannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permistos fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Græciam videtur. Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetustissimo, ubi tres maximi exercitus, qui è Britannis conscripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, populata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forsitan Gallatiam innuit) consederit. *Triadum liber.*

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cujus meminit Florus & Appianus, Britonem fuisse nomen evincit, quod Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Prausum fuisse scribit, ut natione Britonem faciam.

The same in English.

IT is not unlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions to Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient British booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were levied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandish Captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who having wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke up his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere unto the sea of Greece.

Likewise, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wrest that testimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to have bene a Prause by birth) that I may proove him also to have bene a Briton borne.

The travaile of Helena.

HElena Flavia Augusta serenissimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, & unica filia, Magni Constantini Cæsaris mater, incomparabili decôre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Eusebio etiam teste, per totum resplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis suæ fœminas, nulla inveniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copiosior. Innatam habebat ingenii claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatissimam compositionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia sobole (inquit Virumnius) quæ Regni solio potiretur. Illam propterea his instrui fecit per optimos præceptores, ut eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Unde ob incredibilem ejus pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, Constantius Chlorus Cæsar illam duxit in uxorem,

atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit Constantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Annâ illâ Evangelicâ, in sanctâ viduitate perduravit ad ultimum vitæ diem, tota Christianæ religioni dedita. Sunt enim [II. i. 2.] authores, qui narrent per istam, cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesiis datam: Ad tantam cœlestis Philosophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt post agnitum Evangelium pervenisse, ut olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucúsque à Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petiit, & omnia salvatoris loca perlustravit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Christo quievit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superstite, anno salutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octavio. Hujus corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetiis servatur.

The same in English.

HElena Flavia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the most excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodnesse and godly Majestie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in instruments of musike more skilfull, or in the divers languages of nations more abundant then herselfe. She had a naturall quicknesse or excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most notable grace in all her behaviour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to succeed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused her to be instructed in these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in time governe the Realme: so that by reason of her passing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the

great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grewe so skilfull in divinitie, that shee wrote and composed divers bookes, and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by some visions she went to Jerusalem, and visited all the places there, which Christ had frequented. She lived to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15 day of August, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octavius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also living, and her body is to this day very carefully preserved at Venice.

The life and travels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

Lavius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorem Constantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, & Francis, eorúmque Regibus pro spectaculo bestiis objectis, Galliam subjectam tenuit : Tres Helenæ matris avunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italis à Maxentii tyrannide fœlicitèr liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promovit. Innumeræ in eo (ut Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quàm corporis virtutes,

dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinassent. Unde ab Oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus divina, religionis curam in mediis superstitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ spem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum divinis exercendo studiis, noctes trahebat insomnes, & quæsita scribendi diverticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem divitiis omnibus, atque adeò ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falsorum deorum eversor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, & universam ditionem Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, jubens per edicta Christum coli, Evangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, & alimenta dari, atque idolorum ubíque destrui templa. Et ut fidei forma cunctis videretur, Evangelium Jesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, & Biblia sacra ad omnes provincias destinari, diademáque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesiis infinita præ- [II. i. 3.] stitit, agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque ut pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, & similes, familiarissimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indiès ipsis in ejus vita testibus fudit. Unum te Deum esse novimus, unum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adjutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Adversarium fudimus, &c. Pro deliciis habuit, ut Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonos artes fovere, legere, scribere, meditari: composuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epistolas. E vita Nicomediæ discessit Senex, ætatis suæ Anno 66. & Imperii 32. à Christi verò incarnatione 339. Constantinopli sepultus, Octavio in Britanniis regnante. Ejus vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, & Joannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem.

The same in English.

FLavius Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his father, and Emperor of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his native countrey partaker of his singular glory and renoume.

Having conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle throwen out to wild beasts, he held France it selfe as subject unto him: and having happily delivered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred three of his mothers uncles, all Britaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull unto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also, and that having a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the just commendation of Martiall prowesse, he never pitched his field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena having instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of Divinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee undertooke a care of Religion, stirring up innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, having his minde occupied in divine studies: and whensoever his laisure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times should be spent in the use of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and

Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking upon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlinesse was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He overthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often revived, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honoured and relieved, and the temples of Idoles every where to be destroyed.

Whithersoever he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was most beneficiall to all Churches, bestowing upon them lands and fields, and upon the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He used learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his usuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and we call upon thee as our helper: through thee we have gotten the victorie, and by thee we have overthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to imbrace the studie of learning, to favour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after

the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octavius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were translated into the Latine tongue by John Portes a Frenchman.

[II. i. 4.]

The life and travailes of Pelagius borne in Wales.

Elagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegii Bannochorensis a Cestria non procul, præpositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo commoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, juxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Post quam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione insignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, ut Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum lacessitus injuriis, gravatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Galliis, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliásque orientis Regiones demum pervenit. Ubi ex earum partium Monacho præsul ordinatus, sui nominis hæresim fabricabat: asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia salvari posse, ut ita nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & consimilibus impostricis doctrinæ fœcibus in patriam suam reversus, omnem illam Regionem, Juliano & Cælestino Pseudoepiscopis fautoribus, conspurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, ut post Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alii ferunt authores, composuítque multos libros ad Christianam utilitatem. At postquam est Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæresi succurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, unde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, ut in Epistola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

The same in English.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or governour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherein lived a Societie of 2100. Divines, or Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselves to the profite of the Christian people, and living by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great travailes for the good of the Christian common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and injuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grievously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and having gone through France, hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Monke of those partes, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without sinne, and might be saved by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away faith and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Julian and Celestine, who favoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authors doe report of him, and wrote many bookes serving not a litle to Christian utilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon, at the last his owne Countreymen banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martine the fift. He flourished in

the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Justinian the Emperor, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.

Ritanniam insulam tres numerosissimæ gentes incolunt: Quorum unicuique suus Rex imperat. Nominantur hæ gentes Angili, Frisones, & qui ejusdem sunt cum insula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo esse videtur, ut singulis annis inde magno numero cum uxoribus & liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quæ maximè deserta videtur, excipiunt. Unde insulam sibi vendicare ferunt. Utique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quosdam è suis Constantinopolim ad Justinianum legaret, Anglos etiam misit, ambitiosius vendicans, quasi hæc insula suo subesset imperio.

[II. i. 5.]

The same in English.

THe Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, every of which is governed by a severall king. The sayd nations are named Angili, Frisones, and Britones, which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that every yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wives and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receive them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayd Island unto themselves. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subjects ambassadours to Constantinople unto Justinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, am-

bitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene under his jurisdiction.

A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, unto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Chapter de gestis regum Anglorum.

ELeemosynis intentus privilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roboravit; & trans mare Romam, & ad sanctum Thomam in Indiam multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus Sighelmus Shirburnensis Episcopus cum magna prosperitate, quod quivis hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; inde rediens exoticos splendores gemmarum, & liquores aromatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportavit.

The same in English.

KIng Alphred being addicted to giving of almes, confirmed the privileges of Churches as his father had determined; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas unto Rome, and unto S. Thomas of India. His messenger in this businesse was Sighelmus bishop of Schirburne; who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) travailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious unions and costly spyces, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

[A second

A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage unto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesbury his second booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus, Salisburiensibus, Wiltunensibus.

SIghelmus trans mare, causa eleemosynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum Thomam in Indiam missus, mira prosperitate, quod quivis in hoc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; indequè rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax est, reportavit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur.

The same in English.

SIghelmus being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and travailing unto S. Thomas of India, very prosperously (which a man would woonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him divers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and travailes of John Erigena.

JOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Menevia urbe, seu ad fanum Davidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestarent, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas usque suscepit, annosque quamplures literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis insudavit: omnia illic invisit Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo & ipsum oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat. Inveniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore, in Italiam & Galliam est reversus ubi ob insignem eruditionem, [II. i. 6.]

Carolo Calvo, & postea Ludovico Balbo acceptus, Dionysii Areopagitæ libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox adhortante, inter ocia literaria è Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis malevolis interimebatur, Anno Christi, 884.

The same in English.

JOhn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. David in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time undertooke a long journey, even as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built unto himselfe. And having found at length that which he had with long travell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much favoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heavenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster unto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and upon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right governement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine,

which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The travailes of Andrew Whiteman aliâs Leucander, Centur. 2.

Ndræas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (juxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Ramesiensis Cænobii tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus studio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies invigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Accessit præterea & ardens quoddam desiderium, ea propriis & apertis oculis videndi loca, in quibus Servator Christus redemptionis nostræ mysteria omnia consummavit, quorum prius sola nomina ex scripturarum lectione noverat: unde & sacram Hierosolymorum urbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac passionis ejus testem invisit, atque domum rediens factus est Abbas. Claruisse fertur anno nati Servatoris, 1020. sub Canuto Dano.

The same in English.

ANdrew Leucander otherwise called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profession a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramsie: he was exceedingly given to the studie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongst all other things, he had an incredible desire to see those places with his eyes, wherein Christ our Saviour performed and wrought all the mysteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his journey, and went to Jeru-

salem a witnesse of the miracles, preaching, and passion of Christ, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforesayd Abbat. He flourished in the yere of Christ 1020. under Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin unto Jerusalem, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by William of Malmsburie lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.

SWanus perversi ingenii & infidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo descivit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes majorum polluit. Postremò pro conscientia Brunonis cognati interempti, & (ut quidam dicunt) fratris Jerosolimam abiit: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumventus, & ad mortem cæsus est.

The same in English. [II. i. 7.]

SWanus being of a perverse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards prooving a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestours with his robberies upon the seas. Last of all, being guilty unto himselfe of the murther of his kinseman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he travailed unto Jerusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded unto death.

[A voyage

A voyage of three Ambassadours, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent unto Constantinople, and from thence unto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.

Ie sancti paschatis ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, & optimatum turma circumvallatus. Cùmque alii longam quadragesimæ inediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis revocato animo, divinum quiddam speculatus, mentes convivantium permovit ampliorem perfusus in risum: nullóque causam lætitiæ perquirere præsumente, tùnc quidèm ita tacitum, donec edendi satietas obsoniis finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum prosequuti, quorum unus erat comes Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quid riserat: mirum omnibus nec immeritò videri, quarè in tanta serenitate diei & negotii, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum ejecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo sine causa risi. Tum illi, ut moris est humani ingenii, sciscitari & quærere causam ardentiùs, ut supplicibus dignantèr rem impertiatur. Ille multùm cunctatus tandem instantibus mira respondit: septem dormientes in monte Cælio requiescere jam ducentis annis in dextro jacentes latere: sed tunc in hora ipsa risus sui, latus invertisse sinistrum: futurum ut septuaginta quatuor annis ita jaceant: dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis: gentem contra gentem surrecturam, & regnum adversus regnum, terræ motus

per loca, pestilentiam & famem, terrores de cœlo & signa magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christicolarum in paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans passionem septem dormientium, & habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè disseruit: ac si cum eis quotidiano victitaret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exsculpendam, Manicheti Constantinopolitano imperitori misere, adjectis regis sui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benignè secum habitos episcopo Ephesi destinavit, epistola pariter, quam sacram vocant, comitante: ut ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ septem dormientium marturiales exuviæ. Factúmque est ut vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse jurarent, super dextrum illos latus quiescere: sed post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarunt. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ scilicèt a Christo gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Asiam omnino, & majoris multas urbes, inter quas & Ephesum, ipsam etiam Hierosolymam depopulati, super Christianos invaderent.

The same in English.

UPon Easter day king Edward the Confessour being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with divers of his nobles, sate at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed themselves with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earnestly, he lifting up his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heavenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence til dinner was ended. But after dinner as hee was in his bed-chamber putting

off his solemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop, being more familiar with him then the residue followed him in, and bouldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for it seemed very strange unto them all, what should move him at so solemne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so excessively. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demaunded and enquired the cause more earnestly, humbly beseeching
[II. i. 8.] him that hee would vouchsafe to impart that secret unto them. Whereupon musing a long while unto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that seven Sleepers had rested in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying upon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselves on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie unto mankinde. For all things should come to passe within those 74. yeeres, which, as our Saviour Christ foretold unto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heavens, and great signes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared unto them the passion of the seven Sleepers, with the proportion and shape of eache of their bodies (which things no man living had as then committed unto writing) and that so plainely and distinctly, as if he had conversed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a clearke, and the abbot a monke unto Maniches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giving them

friendly entertainment, sent them over unto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters unto him giving him charge, that the English Ambassadours might be admitted to see the true, and material habiliments of the seven Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards vision was approved by all the Greekes, who protested they were advertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seven Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested upon their right sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into the cave, those Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandish prophesie, unto their countreymen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other unbeleeving nations invading the Christians, harried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Jerusalem also.

The voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester unto Jerusalem, an. 1058. Recorded by Roger Hoveden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 255. linea 15.

ALuredus Wigorniensis Episcopus ecclesiam, quam in civitate Glavorna à fundamentis construxerat, in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorificè dedicavit: & posteà regis licentia Wolstanum Wigorniensem Monachum à se ordinatum Abbatem constituit ibidem. Dein præsulatu dimisso Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, qui sibi ad regendum commissus fuerat, & Hermanno, cujus suprà mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare transiit, & per Hungariam profectus est Hierosolymam, &c. *A.D.* 1058.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured bishop of Worcester, very solemnely dedicated a Church (which himselfe had founded and built in the citie of Glocester)

unto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apostle: and afterward by the kings permission ordained Wolstan a Monke of Worcester of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the same place. And then having left his Bishopricke which was committed unto him over the Church of Wilton, and having resigned the same unto Hermannus above mentioned, passed over the seas, and travailed through Hungarie unto Jerusalem, &c.

The voyage of Ingulphus Abbat of Croiland unto Jerusalem, performed (according to Florentius Wigorniensis) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and described by the said Ingulphus himselfe about the conclusion of his briefe Historie.

A.D. 1064. EGo Ingulphus humilis minister Sancti Guthlaci Monasteriique sui Croilandensis, natus in Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè urbis pulcherrimæ Londoniarum, pro literis addiscendis in teneriori ætate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cumque in Aristotele arripiendo supra multos coætaneos meos profecissem, etiam Rhetoricam Tullii primam & secundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adolescentior, fastidiens parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus vestiri, pomposisque laciniis amiciri indies ardentius appetebam. Et eccè, inclytus [II. i. 9.] nunc rex noster Angliæ, tunc adhuc comes Normanniæ *A.D.* 1051. Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognati sui, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londonias adventabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me ubíque ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum *A.D.* 1064, *According to Florentius Wigorniensis.* prosperè plurima perfecissem, in brevi agnitus illustrissimo comiti & astrictissimê adamatus, cum ipso Normanniam enavigabam. Factus ibidem scriba ejus, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum invidiam

regebam; quosque volui humiliabam, & quos volui exaltabam. Cumque juvenili calore impulsus in tam celso statu supra meos natales consistere tæderem, quin semper ad altiora conscendere, instabili animo, ac nimium prurienti affectu, ad erubescentiam ambitiosus avidissimè desiderarem: nuntiatur per universam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperii cum nonnullis aliis terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum suarum more peregrinorum cum debita devotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quam clerici, quorum primus & præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini nostri comitis benevolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero & ampliùs domino Maguntino conjuncti sumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, & cum dominis episcopis connumerati septem millia, pertranseuntes prosperè multa terrarum spatia, tandem Constantinopolim pervenimus. Ubi Alexium Imperatorem ejus adorantes Agiosophiam vidimus, & infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Divertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum latronum incidimus; evisceratique de infinitis pecuniis, cum mortibus multorum, & maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix evadentes, tandem desideratissimam civitatem Hierosolymam læto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, viro veneranda canitie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium immenso fulgore suscepti, ad divinissimam ecclesiam sanctissimi sepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inoravimus, quot lachrymas inflevimus, quot suspiria inspiravimus, solus ejus inhabitator novit D. noster Jesus Christus. Ab ipso itaque gloriosissimo sepulchro Christi ad alia sanctuaria civitatis invisenda circumducti, infinitam summam sanctarum ecclesiarum, & oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum destruxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ civitatis, tam

extra, quàm intra ; numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non paucis pecuniis, exire in patriam & sacratissimo Jordane intingi, universáque Christi vestigia osculari, desiderantissima devotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam observabant, longiùs a civitate evagari, sua rabiosa multitudine innumera non sinebant. Vere igitur accedente, stolus navium Januensium in porta Joppensi applicuit. In quibus, cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per civitates maritimas commutassent, & sancta loca similitèr adorassent, ascendentes omnes mari nos commisimus. Et jactati fluctibus & procellis innumeris tandem Brundusium, & prospero itinere per Apuliam Romam petentes, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli limina, & copiosissima sanctorum martyrum monumenta per omnes stationes osculati sumus. Indè archiepiscopi, cæterique principes imperii Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos versùs Franciam ad sinistram declinantes, cum inenarrabilibus & gratiis & osculis ab invicem discessimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exivimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reversi sumus.

The same in English.

I Ingulphus an humble servant of reverend Guthlac and of his monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterward sent to the Universitie of Oxford. And having excelled divers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inured my selfe somewhat unto the first & second Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne native soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare brave and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our sovereigne king

now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troup of followers and attendants came unto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confessour his kinsman. *A.D.* 1051. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my service for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloved by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I governed the Erles Court (albeit with the envie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abased, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie even of this place, wherein I was advanced so high above my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: [II. i. 10.] there went a report throughout all Normandie, that divers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for devotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, sundry of us, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my selfe) with the licence and good will of our sayd lord the earle, sped us on that voiage, and travailing thirtie horses of us into high Germanie, we joyned our selves unto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishops seven thousand persons sufficiently provided for such an expedition, we passed prosperously through many provinces, and at length attained unto Constantinople. Where doing reverence unto the Emperour Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed divers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeves: and after we had bene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardly escaping with extreame danger of our lives, at length wee joyfully entered into the most wished citie of

Jerusalem. Where we were received by the most reverend, aged, and holy patriarke Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied unto the most divine Church of our Saviour his sepulchre with a solemne procession aswell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we uttered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deepe sighs we breathed foorth, our Lord Jesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so having bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and having bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most ardent devotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selves in the most sacred river of Jordan, and to kisse all the steppes of Christ. Howbeit the theevish Arabians lurking upon every way, would not suffer us to travell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the spring there arrived at the port of Joppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of us embarked, committing our selves to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arrived at Brundusium: and so with a prosperous journey travelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reverence unto divers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire travelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaves with unspeakable thankes and courtesies. And so at length, of

thirty horsemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned thither skarse twenty poore pilgrims of us, being all footmen, and consumed with leannesse to the bare bones.

Divers of the honourable family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtoys sonne of William the Conqueror, made a voyage to Jerusalem 1096. Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.

POpe Urbane calling a councell at Clermont in Auvergne, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a journey into the Holy land, for the recovery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the saide great and generall journey was concluded upon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went under the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more plainely appeare. There went also among other divers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, specially that worthily bare the surname of Beauchampe.

The voyage of Gutwere an English Lady maried to Baldwine brother of Godfreide duke of Bouillon, toward Jerusalem about 1097. And the 11. yeere of William Rufus King of England.

THe Christian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon passing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length unto the citie of Marasia, where they encamped, and sojourned there three whole dayes, because of the wife of Baldwine brother germane of the duke of Loraigne.

[I. i. 11.] Which Lady being long time vexed with a grievous malady, was in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and descended of most noble parentage named Gutwere; Which, according to her degree, was there most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same author in the 10. booke & first chapter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwine having folowed the warres for a time, gave his minde to marriage, so that being in England he fell in love with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutwere, whom he married and caried with him in that first happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his journey, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sicknes finished her life with a happie end neere the citie of Marasia, before the Christian armie came unto Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we have declared before.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27. maketh also mention of this English Lady, which he calleth Godwera in this maner.

HAc in regione Maresch uxor Baldewini nobilissima, quam de regno Angliæ eduxit, diutina corporis molestia aggravata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalavit, sepulta Catholicis obsequiis; cujus nomen erat Godwera.

The same in English.

IN this province of Maresch the most noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England being visited with dayly sicknesses and infirmities of

body, and commended to the custody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Christian maner. Her name was Godwera.

The voyage of Edgar the sonne of Edward which was the sonne of Edmund surnamed Ironside, brother unto K. Edward the confessor, (being accompanied with valiant Robert the sonne of Godwin) unto Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 3. histo. fol. 58.

Ubsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audacissimo Edgarus Hierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt: qui cum obsidionis injuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, & evaginato gladio dextra levaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum se inclinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (ut aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad signum positus, & sagittis terebratus, martyrium consecravit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippè qui etiam eum retinere progeneris amplitudine tentassent) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio sprevit. Quosdam enim profectò fallit amor patriæ, ut nihil eis videatur jucundum, nisi consuetum hauserint cœlum. Undè Edgarus fatua cupidine illusus Angliam rediit, ubi (ut superius dixi) diverso fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus & tacitus, canos suos in agro consumit. *A.D.* 1102.

[The same

The same in English.

AFterward Edgar being sonne unto the nephewe of Edward the confessour, traveiled with Robert the sonne of Godwin a most valiant knight, unto Jerusalem. And it was at the same time when the Turkes besieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the straight siege, was by the helpe of Robert especially, going before him, and with his drawen sword making a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, delivered out of that danger, and escaped through the midst of his enemies campe. But upon his happie successe being more eager and fierce, as hee went forward somewhat too hastily, his sworde fell out of his hand. Which as he stouped to take up, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being carried unto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Christ, he was tyed unto a stake in the midst of the market place, and being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar having lost his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekish and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly have entertained him stil for his great [II. i. 12.] nobilitie) contemned all things in respect of his native soile. For in very deede some are so inveagled with the love of their countrey, that nothing can seeme pleasant unto them, unlesse they breath in the same aire where they were bred. Wherefore Edgar being misledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being subject unto divers changes of fortune (as we have above signified) he spendeth*now his extreeme olde age in an obscure and private place of the countrey.

When the author was writing of this history.

Mention made of one Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage unto the Holy land in the second yeere of Baldwine King of Jerusalem, in the third yere of Henry the first of England.

Hronicon Hierosolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verùm dehinc septem diebus evolutis rex ab Assur exiens, navem quæ dicitur Buza ascendit, & cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo hastæ præfixo & elato in aëre ad radios solis usque, Japhet cum paucis navigavit, ut hoc ejus signo cives Christiani recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hostium minis pavefacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut urbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita & salute ejus desperare. Saraceni autem viso ejus signo, & recognito, ea parte quæ urbem navigio cingebat illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio undis maris illis ex adverso tumescentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili cursu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in portu Joppæ delusis hostibus subitò affuit, sex ex Saracenis in arcu suo in navicula percussis, ac vulneratis. Intrans itaque civitatem dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, revixit spiritus cunctorum gementium & de ejus morte hactenus dolentium, eo quòd caput & rex Christianorum & princeps Hierusalem adhuc vivus & incolumis receptus sit.

The same in English.

BUt seven dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe called a Busse, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fastening his banner on the toppe of a speare, and holding it up aloft in the aire against

the beames of the Sunne, sailed unto Japhet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing this his banner, might conceive hope that the King was yet living, and being not easily terrified with the threates of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to yeeld up the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Saracens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which environed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, seeking to inclose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waves with an easie and nimble course arrived suddenly in the haven of Joppa, the enemies frustrated of their purpose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirits of all them that mourned for him, and until then lamented as though hee had bene dead, revived, because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Jerusalem was yet alive, and come againe unto them in perfect health.

Mention made of one Hardine of England one of the chiefest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Joppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

Hronicon Hierosolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obsidio ageretur 200. naves Christianorum navigio Joppen appulsæ sunt, ut adorarent in Hierusalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Anglia, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, unus de præpotentibus Westfalorum, primi & ductores fuisse referuntur,

&c. Erat autem tertia feria Julii mensis, quando hæ Christianorum copiæ, Deo protegente, huc navigio angustiatis & obsessis ad opem collatæ sunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Christianorum virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino sibi hospitio proximè jungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amotis tentoriis amplius milliari subtractæ consederunt, dum luce exorta consilium inirent, utrum Ascalonem redirent, aut cives Japhet crebris assultibus vexarent.

The same in English. [II. i. 13.]

WHile the Sarazens continued their siege against Joppa, two hundred saile of Christian ships arrived at Joppa, that they might performe their devotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to have bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall provision, arrived here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed & besieged Christians in Joppa, the third day of July, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Jerusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power joyned themselves boldly, close by them even face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooved their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee advised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults vexe the citizens of Japhet.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this historie of these two hundreth saile of ships, and sheweth how by their prowesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in short space vanquished and overthrowen: The words are these; Ab ipso verò die tertiæ feriæ dum sic in superbia & elatione suæ multitudinis immobiles Saraceni persisterent, & multis armorum terroribus Christianum populum vexarent,

sexta feria appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis & cornibus a Japhet egrediens, in manu robusta equitum & peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello est aggressus, magnis hinc & hinc clamoribus intonantes. Christiani quoque qui navigio appulsi sunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & gravi strepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna sunt aggressi, sævissimis atque mortiferis plagis eos affligentes, donec bello fatigati, & ultrà vim non sustinentes fugam versus Ascalonem inierunt. Alii verò ab insecutoribus eripi existimantes, & mari se credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt. Et sic civitas Joppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Sarracenorum: Christianorum verò pauci periisse inventi sunt.

The same in English.

YEt notwithstanding, after the said third day of July, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the sixt day of July early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of Japhet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on every side making great shoutes and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arrived in the navie, rearing great clamours and noyses, with loud voices and shoutings in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, untill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out against the valure of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, lept into the sea, and were swalowed up in the waves thereof. And so the citie of Joppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed

of their enemies. There were slaine this day three thousand Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arrived at Joppa in the Holy land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Cap. 1.

T the same time also in the seventh yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hierusalem, a very great warre-like Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seven thousand, having with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arrived with ships which they call Busses, at the haven of the citie of Japhet, determining there to make their abode, untill they having obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worship at Hierusalem. Of which navie the chiefest and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this maner. Christ preserve the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and souldiours of Christian profession, have, through the helpe of God, sayled hither through mightie and [II. i. 14.] large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worship at Jerusalem, and to visit the sepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are assembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your favour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe up to Jerusalem, and worship there, and so returne.

[Chap. 2.

Chap. 2.

THe king favourably hearing their whole petition, granted unto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the knowen wayes unto Jerusalem and all other places of devotion. After that these pilgrims, & new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering unto our Lord their vowes in the temple of the holy sepulchre, returned with great joy, and without all let unto Joppa; where finding the king, they vowed that they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good unto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answere to this point, untill that after he had called his nobles together, he had consulted with my lord the Patriarch what was most meet and convenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling unto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of David, and the other chiefest men of warre, he determined to have a meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

WHo, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their divers opinions & judgements, at length it seemed best unto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peradventure, through Gods helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be overcome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admonished of the king every one to go home, and to furnish them-

selves with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Every one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the invasions of the enemies, which could never be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remove their campe nor fleet from the city of Japhet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same ambassadours also declared unto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull; and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were comming downe unto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike instruments, to invade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Japhet, untill the kings further commandement were knowen. Whereupon they all agreed that it should so be done according to the kings commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the haven of Japhet, & would in all points be obedient unto him unto the death.

Chap. 4.

THe king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most convenient for the assaulting of the city. Assoone as this purpose and intent of the king was come unto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an invincible power of men of warre was arrived at Japhet to helpe the king, they were greatly astonied, fearing that

by this meanes, they should be consumed and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Cæsaria, Assur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediatours, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, upon condition that ceasing to besiege and invade their city, he would spare their lives. Whereupon these businesses were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they sollicited the king for the ransomming both of their city and of their lives, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and
[II. i. 15.] perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought unto his souldiers, harkened wholy unto this offer of money. Howbeit because he feared the Christians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durst not as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen, invaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and silver most abundant in cattle frontering upon the countrie of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might have suffised him for the besiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being led away as farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæsaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiving this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and passed foorth as farre as the mountaines, over which Hughes footemen did drive the pray.

There beganne a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray, the other indevoured with all their might to recover it, untill at length the Turkes and Saracens prevailing, the pray was rescued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horsemen, suddenly understanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe upon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the enemies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought unfortunately. For Hugh, being unarmed, and immediatly rushing into the middest of all dangers, and after his woonted manner invading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the backe which pierced thorough his liver and brest, he gave up the ghost in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recovered pray, and being devided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worthie a prince, and valiant champian was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the said Hugh named Gerrard, the same time lay sicke of a grievous disease. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through griefe, he also deceased within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Christian maner.

Chap. 6.

AFter the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none privie thereto, to receive the money which was offered him for his differring off the siege of the citie of Sagitta, yet dissembling to make peace with the Sara-

cens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon sending a message unto Japhet, hee advised the English souldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besieging and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which rising immediatly upon the kings commaundement, and foorthwith hoysing up the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and stremers of purple, and diverse other glorious colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came thither, and casting their ancres, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling unto him such as were privie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe unto the chiefe Captaines of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, & for this time dismisse the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spred among the people, the armie was dissolved, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oares going aboard their fleete, saluted the king, and returned home unto their native countries.

The travailes of one Athelard an Englishman, recorded by master Bale Centur. 2.

AThelardus Bathoniensis Cœnobii monachus, naturalium rerum mysteria, & causas omnes, diligentiâ tam undecunque exquisitâ perscrutatus est, ut cum aliquibus veteris seculi philosophis non indignè conferri possit. Hic olim spectatæ indolis Adolescens, ut virente adhuc ætate juvenile ingenium fœcundaret,
[II. i. 16.] atque ad res magnas pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petiit regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura invenisset, quæ ejus desiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam

tum demùm revertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The same in English.

ATHelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and causes of naturall things, that he deserveth worthely to be compared with some of the auncient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and travailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne private contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

¶ The life and travailes of one William of Tyre, an Englishman. Centur. 13.

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrensis claruit sub Henrico primo.

GUlielmus, Ecclesiæ Dominici sepulchri Hierosolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus commendabilis, Anno Dom. 1128. postquam Tyrorum Civitas fidei Christianæ restituta est a Guimundo Hierosolymorum patriarcha, eidem urbi primus Archiepiscopus præficiebatur. Est autem Tyrus civitas antiquissima, Phœniciæ universæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ provincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum semper obtinuit locum: post conscripta quædam opuscula, & Epistolas, ad Dominum migravit, An. Christi 1130. quum duobus tantum sedisset annis, & in Tyrensi Ecclesia sepelitur.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Jerusalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Englishman borne, and of a vertuous and good behaviour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Jerusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Province of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William having in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. having bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The travailes of Robertus Ketenensis.

RObertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literariis, ultramarinas statim visitare provincias in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Galliis, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum pervenit in Asiam, ubi non parvo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea navigio traductus, circa fluvium Hiberum Astrologicæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno servatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

The same in English.

THis Robert Ketenensis was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the

elements of good Artes in the Universities of England, determined to travaile to the partes beyond sea: and so travailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he lived in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the river Iberus, gave him selfe wholy to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steven being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage of certaine English men under the conduct of Lewes king of France unto the Holy land. [II. i. 17.]

Antæ expeditionis explicito apparatu uterque princeps iter arripuit, & exercitu separtito. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarúmque gentium amplissimis copiis. Rex vero Lodovicus sequebatur Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Provincialium, Aquitanorum, equestri simul & pedestri agmine comitatus. Gulielmus Neobrigensis, fol. 371. 1147. *Tempore regis Stephani*

The same in English.

BOth the princes provision being made for so great an expedition, they severing their armies, entered on their journey. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes journey, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of French men, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, English men, Burgundions, men of Provence, and Gascoins.

The voyage of John Lacy to Jerusalem.

1173. ANno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Johannem Lacy Constabularium Cestriæ & dominum de Halton, qui obiit in Terra sancta anno sequenti: qui fuit vicessimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

The same in English.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord John Lacy Constable of Chester, & lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandevile to Jerusalem.

1177. WIlliam Mandevile earle of Essex, with divers English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.

JAm inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quàm humanitatis cultu inter Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes inprimis floruit. Adeo ut ad custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum evocati fuerint Angli. Joannes enim Alexii Comneni filius, ut refert noster Malmesburiensis, eorum fidem suspiciens præcipue familiaritati suæ applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens: Adeo ut jam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum satellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniatæ, Barangi Curopolatæ dicti. Qui ubique Imperatorem prosequebantur ferentes humeris secures,

quas tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diuturnam secures suas collidentes ut sonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The same in English.

FRom this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing estates of Christendome, no lesse in chivalrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, used them very nere about him, recommending them over to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held up when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished unto him long life.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by Henry the 2. [II. i. 18.]

THe same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian souldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thousand markes of silver, and five hundred markes of golde. Matth. Paris. and Holens. pag. 105.

[A letter

A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, unto Henrie the second King of England, Anno Dom. 1177. wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries Noble men and subjects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of Iconium. Recorded by Roger Hoveden, in Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.

Odem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campestri cum Soltano Iconii & illo devicto, in hac forma scripsit Domino regi Angliæ.

Manuel in Christo deo Porphyrogenitus, divinitùs coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Augustus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobilissimo regi Angliæ, charissimo amico suo, salutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium reputet notificare tibi, ut dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quæ sibi obveniunt; ideò & de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum judicavit declarare tuæ voluntati. Igitur a principio coronationis nostræ imperium nostrum adversus dei inimicos Persas nostrum odium in corde nutrivit, dum cerneret illos in Christianos gloriari, elevarique in nomen dei, & Christianorum dominari regionibus. Quo circa & alio quidem tempore indifferentèr invasit eos, & prout deus ei concessit, sic & fecit. Et quæ ab ipso frequenter patrata sunt ad contritionem ipsorum & perditionem, imperium nostrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, & bellum contra omnem Persidem movere, quia res cogebat. Et non ut voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, sicut ei visum est. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum status, potentèr eos invasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nostrum potentias suas:

sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum instrumentorum conferentium civitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcircò nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum agere poterat. Ampliùs autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis adversus nos militaret in bellis adversarius, ægritudo difficillima fluxus ventris invasit nos, qui diffusus per agmina imperii nostri pertransibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore gravior. Et hoc malum invalescens maximè nos contrivit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum invasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperii nostri undique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à nostris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post verò ubi ei qui illic adjacet angustiæ loci, quæ à Persis nominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquavimus, tot Persarum turmæ peditum & equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurrerant in adjutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro supervenerunt, quot penè nostrorum excederent numerum. Exercitu itaque imperii nostri propter viæ omnino angustiam & difficultatem, usque ad decem milliaria extenso; & cum neque qui præibant possent postremos defendere, neque versa vice rursus postremi possent præeuntes juvare, non mediocritèr ab invicem hos distare accidit. Sanè primæ cohortes permultùm ab acie imperii nostri dividebantur, postremarum oblitæ, illas non præstolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex jam factis præliis cognoverant, non conferre sibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum subventorem cum invenissent, posteriora statuerunt invadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arctissimo igitur ubique loco existente, instabant barbari undique, à dextris & â sinistris, & aliundè dimicantes, & tela super nos quasi imbres descendentia interimebant viros & equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium nostrum ubi malum superabundabat, reputans secum oportunum judicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adjuvare, expectando utiquè contra infinita illa Persarum

agmina bellum sustinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circundaretur, patraverit, non opus est ad tempus sermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forsitan discet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem existente imperio nostro, & omne belli gravamen in tantum sustinente, postremæ cohortes universæ Græcorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ jaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impactione utuntur, & ita violentèr ferebantur, dùm ad
[II. i. 19.] adjacentem ibi collem quasi ad propugnaculum festinarent: sed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem elevato pulvere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittente videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundissimæ vallis alius super alium homines & equi sic incontinentèr portati corruerunt, quòd alii alios conculcantes ab invicem interemerunt non ex gregariis tantum, sed ex clarissimis & intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulsum? At verò imperium nostrum tot & tantis confertum barbaris saucians, sauciatúmque, adeò ut non modicam in eos moveret perturbationem, obstupentes perseverantiam ipsius, & non remittebatur, benè juvante deo, campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum scandere adversarios permisit, in quo dimicavit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum suum illorum timore incitavit, celerius aliquando ponere vestigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina sua, & de morte eripiendo ea, collocavit circa se: & sic primos attigit, & ordinatìm proficiscens ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quòd post tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, imperium nostrum, sicut oportunum erat, rem hujusmodi dispensavit, ut ipsum rursùm invaderet: mittens supplicavit imperio nostro, & deprecatoriis usus est sermonibus, & requisivit pacem illius, promittens omnem imperii nostri adimplere voluntatem, & servitium suum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno suo tenebantur captivos absolvere, & esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ.

Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni potestate morati sumus, & cognito quòd nihil poterat fieri contra civitatem Iconii, perditis testudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quòd boves cecidissent a telis in modo pluviæ jactis, qui eas trahebant: Simul autem eo quòd & universa animalia nostra irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine laborabant, suscepit Soltani deprecationem & fœdera & juramenta peracta sub vexillis nostris, & pacem suam ei dedit. Inde ingressum imperium nostrum in regionem suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his quos perdidit consanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per suam bonitatem & nunc ipsum honoravit: Gratum autem habuimus, quòd quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narrabunt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati seriem. Cæterùm autem, licèt contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportunum tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, ut dilecto amico nostro, & ut permultùm conjuncto imperio nostro, per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem. Vale. Data mense Novembris, indictione tertia.

The same in English.

IN the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Constantinople having fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquished him, wrote unto Henry the second king of England in maner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Christ the everliving God a faithful emperour, descended of the linage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puissant, mighty, alwayes most sovereigne, and governour of the Romans; unto Henry the most famous king of England, his most deare friend, greeting and all good successe. Whereas our imperiall highnesse thinketh it expedient to advertise you our welbeloved friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amisse to signifie unto your royall Majestie certaine exploits at this present atchieved by us. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration

our imperiall highnes hath mainteined most deadly feod and hostility against Gods enemies the Persians, seeing them so to triumph over Christians, to exalt themselves against the name of God, and to usurpe over Christian kingdomes. For which cause our imperiall highnesse hath in some sort encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleased God to give us grace. And we suppose that your Majestie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highnesse hath often performed for their ruine and subversion. For even now, being urged thereunto, we have determined to leade a mighty army against them, and to wage warre against all Persia. And albeit our forces be not so great as we could wish they were, yet have we according to the time, and the present state of things, strongly invaded them. Wherefore our Majestie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but because we had in our army sundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other instruments for the assault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great speed in our journey. Moreover, while our imperiall highnesse was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought against us: our people were visited with the most grievous disease of the fluxe, which being dispersed in our troups destroyed and slew great numbers, more then the sword of the enemy would have done. Which mischiefe so prevailing, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had invaded the Turkish frontiers, we had at the first very often and hot skirmishes, and the Turks came swarming to fight against our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods assistance those miscreants were altogether scattered and put to flight by our souldiers. But as we approched unto that straight passage which [II. i. 20.] is called by the Persians Cibrilcimam, so many bands of Persian footemen and horsemen (most whereof came from the innermost parts of Persia, to succour their Allies) encountred our army, as were almost superiour unto us in number. Wherefore the army of our

Imperiall highnesse, by reason of the straightnesse and difficultie of the way, being stretched ten miles in length; and the first not being able to helpe the last, nor yet contrarywise the last to rescue the first, it came to passe that they were very farre distant asunder. And in very deed the foremost troupes were much separated from the guard of our imperiall person, who forgetting their fellowes behind, would not stay any whit for them. Because therefore the Turkish bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootlesse for them to assaile the forefront of our battell, and perceiving the narownesse of the place to be a great advantage, they determined to set upon our rereward, and did so. Wherefore our passage being very straight, and the infidels assayling us upon the right hand and upon the left, and on all sides, and discharging their weapons as thicke as hailestones against us, slew divers of our men and horses. Hereupon, the slaughter of our people still encreasing our majestie imperiall deemed it requisite to stay behind, and to succour our bands in the rereward, and so expecting them we sustained the fierce encounter of many thousand Persians. What exploits our Imperiall person atchieved in the same skirmish, I hold it needlesse at this time to recount: your majestie may perhaps understand more of this matter by them which were there present. Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being in the middest of this conflict, and enduring the fight with so great danger, all our hindermost troups, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themselves close together, and not being able to suffer the violence of their enemies weapons, pressed on so hard, and were caried with such maine force, that hastening to ascend the next hill for their better safegard, they urged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much dust being raised, which stopped our eyes and utterly deprived us of sight, and our men and horses pressing so sore one upon the necke of another, plunged them-

selves on the sudden into such a steepe and dangerous valley, that treading one upon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common souldiours, but divers most honourable personages, & some of our neere kinsmen. For who could restraine the irresistable throng of so huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being environed with such swarmes of Infidels, and giving and receiving wounds (insomuch that the miscreants were greatly dismaied at our constancie) we gave not over, but by Gods assistance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemie to ascend unto that place, from whence we skirmished with him. Neither yet spurred wee on our horse any faster for all their assaults. But marshalling all our troupes together, and delivering them out of danger, we disposed them about our Imperial person; and so we overtooke the foremost, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiving that notwithstanding the great damages which we had sustained, our Imperial highnes provided to give him a fresh encounter, humbly submitting himselfe unto us, and using submisse speaches, made suite to have peace at our hands, and promised to fulfill the pleasure of our majestie Imperiall, to doe us service against all commers, to release all our subjects which were captives in his realme, and to rest wholy at our commaund. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and considering that wee could attempt nought against the citie of Iconium, having lost all our warrelike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the oxen which drew them were slaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as haile-stones: and also for because all our beasts in a maner were most grievously diseased; our majestie Imperial accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken under our ensignes, and granted our peace unto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieved for the losse of our deere kinsmen, and yeelding unto God most humble

The citie of Iconium intended to have bene besieged.

thanks, who of his goodnesse had even now given us the victory. We are right glad likewise that some of your majesties princes and nobles accompanied us in this action, who are able to report unto you all things which have happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieved for the losse of our people; yet thought it we expedient to signifie unto you the successe of our affaires, as unto our welbeloved friend, & one who is very neerly allied unto our highnesse Imperial, by reason of the consanguinitie of our children. Farewell. Given in the moneth of November, and upon the tenth Indiction.

Certaine noble men of the king of England were with the Emperor in his battell against the Soldan of Iconium.

The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. John Foxe.

KIng Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had undutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the [II. i. 21.] French king to take his voiage with him for the recoverie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his journey, used divers meanes to take up summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make threescore and ten thousand pounds, and the Jewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Having thus gotten sufficient money for the exploite, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recoverie of

Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing upon the Evangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that journey, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme above limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yeere therfore 1190. King Richard having committed the government of this realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, advanced forward his journey, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he joyning together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

¶ The oth of fidelitie betwixt King Richard, and the French king.

That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie unto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Navie, the forme therof was this.

The discipline and orders of the king.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully convicted, shal have his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred upon his head, and feathers or downe strawed upon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast up.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Navie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with preasse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to dissever themselves for time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Navie to meete him. From thence crossing over to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Navie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship over his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by

the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arrived at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

[II. i. 22.] To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken up the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arrivall eftsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Jerusalem: but after he was out of the haven, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliverance of Joane his sister (who had bin somtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in ye midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messana & Calabria, from whence ye Monks being expulsed, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Island de le Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to invade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie,

began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking divers of their heads, could not asswage their fiercenesse, such was the rage of the Englishmen agaynst the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English captaine. The noyse whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselves. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making up to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, unto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings servants pursued into the citie, of whom five valiant souldiers & twentie of the kings servants were slaine, the French King looking upon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men

being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well have eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowen to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they upon great indignation gathered themselves in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set up their flags with the English armes upon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set up, & joyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitalaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

Messana won by the English.

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then upon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of November.

[II. i. 23.] From this time untill Februarie the next yeere these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of

winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent over his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, under the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding unto Naples, they found the kings shippes wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gave divers shippes, upon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he destributed largely to his souldiers and servants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not onely redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profite, as the sequele afterward prooved.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably received, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receive nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gave againe unto him a riche sworde. At length when king Richard should take his leave, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would give him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes journey, to a place called Tavernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message, which

the French King a little before had sent unto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these : That the King of England was a false Traytour, & would never keepe the peace that was betweene them : and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor never had bene : and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should never be broken through him : neither could he beleeve that the French King being his good lord, and his sworne Compartner in that voyage, would utter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreover, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiving the letters, and musing not a little upon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tavernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard mooved in stomacke against King Philip, never shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was woont : whereat the French king greatly marveiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily : which when the French king understood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to

breake with him, and to maligne him : and therfore he forged (sayd he) these lies upon him, and all because he by that meanes would avoid to marry with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreover that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alise his sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he lived.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne : for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers & sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of divers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him every yeere for the space of five yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd moneth of March, the [II. i. 24.] French king lanching out of the haven of Messana, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Messana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arrived Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Navars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the sayd moneth, departed from the haven of Messana with 150 great ships, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his journey toward Achon: who being upon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, rose a mighty South winde with a tempest, which dissevered and scattered all his Navie, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was

The Navie of King Richard.

driven to the Ile of Creta, and there before the haven of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Navars daughter, with two ships were driven to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblowen, sent forth his gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Navie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymszem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same haven, were drowned with divers of the kings servants and men of worship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all English men, which by shipwracke were cast upon his land, also invegled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driven upon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reverence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captivitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he deteined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once,

twise, and thrise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captives go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftsoones giveth commandement thorowout all his hoste to put themselves in armour and follow him, to revenge the injuries received of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and give them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English men should arrive, with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boordes, stooles, and chestes before them as a wall: few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert and unskilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowemen before, who with their shot made a way for others to followe. The Englishmen thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and divers he tooke alive, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymszem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Joanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymszem, with 50. great ships, and 14. galliots: so that all the whole Navie there meeting together, were 254. tall shippes, and above threescore galliots. Then Isakius the Emperour, seeing no way for

him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched his tentes five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after, he would surely give battell to king Richard: but he preventing him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should be, setteth upon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being unawares and a sleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leaving his tents and pavilions to [II. i. 25.] the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the Imperial standerd, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Navarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymszem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe overmatched, was driven at length to yeelde himselfe with conditions to give king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captives againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person to attend upon the king to the lande of Jerusalem, in Gods service and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort prevaile, that the

subjects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselves to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and silver, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left governour of Cyprus.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June upon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and five hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of unknowen serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiving, eftsoones set upon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken alive: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

A great ship of Saracens taken by king Richard.

King Richard arrived at Achon.

The next day after which was the seventh of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be undermined and towers overthrowen, were driven by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof used at sundry times to cast over the wals

into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, advertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heavines unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the citie was got did they ever understand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Upon the twelfth day of July the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, upon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giving up of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

1 That the Kings should have the citie of Achon freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captives of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captives with two hundreth horsemen, whosoever they themselves would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would give unto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselves should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforesayd covenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

[II. i. 26.] These covenants being agreed upon, the Kings sent their souldiers and servants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest & best of the city, to close them up in towers under strong keeping, & the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring unto them according to their necessities: to

whom notwithstanding this they premitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receive the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, revolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of July, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon, devided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and silver, with all other furniture whatsoever was remaining in the citie: who in deviding the spoyle, were so good carvers to themselves that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shew themselves somewhat discontented, which being knowen of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of July, king Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselves by othe to remaine there stil in the land of Jerusalem the space of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recovering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Jerusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie desired him to tary, shewing what a

shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leave undone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leaving the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

The French kings shamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their covenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captives, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captives of the Christians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captives to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard understood, yet would not he prevent the time before limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and five hundreth, save onely that certaine of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captives.

The captives of the Saracens slaine by King Richard.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Joppe, where by the way betwene Achon and Joppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquited themselves so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, & he lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in

A notable victorie against the Saladine.

such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Avernus in that conflict was overthrowen.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Joppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Joppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. *King Richard in possession of Syria.* Of all which his atchevances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping y^t^ he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should have bene, had not they falling into discorde dissevered themselves, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe eftsoones invaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also John the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: who then made league upon the same with the French [II. i. 27.] king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in 1193. Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the *King Richard returneth from Palæstina.* next spring following returned also, who in his returne driven by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

[The letter

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & semper Augustus, Dilecto & speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, & sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de universis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honoraverit & exaltaverit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperii nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reversurus, accidit ut ventus rupta navi sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Ubi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis evasit.

Quidam itaque fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentiùs, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captivare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam converso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, ubi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cœpit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austriæ, observata strata sæpè, dictum Regem juxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captivavit.

Cum itaque in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestavit, & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmisimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curavimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuæ bene placita existere, animo tuo uberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Janua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and solde

to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolved of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and delivered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was deteined during the time above mentioned, a yeere & 3 moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle John the Kings brother, made stirre and invaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlestickes and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subjects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesaide money was payde, and

the hostages given for the ransome of the King, I have an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues.

The just judgment of God upon the Duke of Austria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

[II. i. 28.] 4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgive K. Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you have heard, Richard the King was ransomed & delivered from the covetous captivitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This historie of King Richards voiage to Jerusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis, and Roger Hoveden.

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

SCribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
aurea, materiæ conveniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema *Jope.

Civitas Joppe.

Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
mersus, Caruanna capta, retenta Jope.

Epitaphium ejusdem ubi viscera ejus requiescunt.

VIscera Kareolum, corpus fons servat Ebraldi,
& cor Rothomagus, magne Richarde, tuum.

The life and travailes of Baldwinus Devonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.

BAldwinus Devonius, tenui loco Excestriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philosophus, & ad omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inveniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat, tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit prætereà Cisterciensis Monachus, & Abbas Fordensis Cœnobii, magnus suorum æstimatione, ac universæ eorum societati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigorniensis præsul, fuit & mortuo demùm Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè invigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur ejus temporis iniquitas, ubique locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni insigniis, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria paravit. Secutus est illicò regem in Syriam, & Palæstinam usque Baldwinus, ut esset in tam Sancto (ut ipse putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ ferè 6. annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostræ 1190. Tyri vitam finivit, ubi & sepultus est.

The same in English.

BAldwine a Devonshire man borne in Exceter of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first of all a Schoolemaster: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning

& wisdom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in every place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indevour prepared a Fleet and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Jerusalem, taking with him the standerd and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftsoones folowed the king into Syria and Palestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his travailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. Hee was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yeres: but having followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

[II. i. 29.] An annotation concerning the travailes of the sayd Baldwine, taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

INter primos Thomæ Becketi successor hic secundus, audita salvatoris & salutiferæ Crucis injuria nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in ejusdem obsequiis, tam remotis finibus quàm propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter assumpsit. Et postmodùm iter accipiens, navigióque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter & obsessum Aconem transivit: ubi multos ex nostris inveniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectu, in summa desolatione jam positos, & desperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia graviter afflictos, quosdam verò aëris

inclementia distemperatos, diem fœlicitèr in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse vinculo charitatis amplectens, sumptibus & impensis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmavit.

The same in English.

THis Baldwine being the second successor unto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ye wrong which was done to our Saviour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking upon him the Lords Character, he couragiously perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreis as at home. And afterwards taking his journey and imbarking himselfe at Marseils, having at length passed ye Levant sea, he arrived safely in the Haven of Tyrus, and from thence went over to Achon unto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensivenesse and despaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grievously afflicted with hunger and povertie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing every one according to his abilitie in the bond of love, he ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

[A note

A note drawen out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Frederike Tilney his ancestor, knighted at Acon in the Holy land for his valour, by K. Richard the first, as foloweth.

Ertinuit iste liber priùs Frederico Tilney de Boston, in comitatu Lincolniæ militi facto apud Acon in terra Judææ anno regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iste magnæ staturæ & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus suis dormit apud Tirrington juxta villam sui nominis Tilney in Mershland. Cujus altitudo in salva custodia permanet ibidem usque in hunc diem. Et post ejus obitum sexdecem militibus ejus nominis Tilney hæreditas illa successivè obvenit, quorum unus post alium semper habitabat apud Boston prædictum: dum fratris senioris hæreditas hæredi generali devoluta est, quæ nupta est Johanni duci Norfolciæ. Eorum miles ultimus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolciæ, pater & genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iste liber. Anno ætatis suæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

The same in English.

THis booke pertained in times past unto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Jurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere unto a towne in Marshland called by his owne name Tilney. The just height of this knight is there kept in safe custody untill this very day. Also, after this mans decease, the inheritance of his landes fell successively unto

sixteene sundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston aforesayd, untill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell unto an heire general, which was maried unto John duke of Northfolke. The last knight of that name was sir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father unto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforesayd Esquire, unto whom the sayd booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

The travailes of one Richard surnamed Canonicus. [II. i. 30.]

RIchardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impensè amavit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem evasit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rarissimos nutriebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palæstinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Unde in Angliam tum demum reversus, omnia quæ presens vidit in urbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quàm prosa descripsit. Neque interim omisit ejusdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta designare, addidítque præclaro suo operi hoc aptissimum pro titulo nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostræ 1200. sub Joanne Anglorum Rege.

The same in English.

RIchard surnamed Canonicus an observant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great love with the studies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endevour

and long exercise therein, hee grewe to bee such an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age living, by reason whereof hee grew in favour with Richard then King of England, and undertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina and Syria agaynst the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the souldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behaviour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giving to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Journall of King Richard. He flourished in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. under John king of England.

The travailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.

GUlielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam ætatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, ut multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studiis. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum ut miles, sed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palæstina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babyloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Saracenos. Omnia hæc scripsit, & vivis depinxit coloribus, ita ut quasi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idémque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractavit carmine, opúsque jam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicavit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multáque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubito, sed num extent illa ejus scripta, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno à salutifero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Joanne.

The same in English.

WIlliam the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much given to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee understanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in lively colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And having finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a most expert Captaine of the warres, giving it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yeere after the birth of Christ 1200. under king John.

The large contribution to the succour of the Holy land, made by king John king of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. Matth. Paris and Holinsh. pag. 164. [II i. 31.]

T the same time also the kings of France and England gave large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went foorth under the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted unto them

the fortieth part of all the revenues belonging unto ecclesiasticall persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such aswel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken upon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled eftsoones to receive it now againe.

The travailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie.

HUbertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingenióque ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos unus eorum erat, qui post Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palæstina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidisset, omisso itinere incœpto, ad eum cursim divertebat: Quem & ille statim in Angliam misit, ut illic regii Senatus authoritate, indicto pro ejus redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & industrius fecit ac regem liberavit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus factus, post ejus mortem Joanni illius fratri ac successori paria fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi persuasit, quod vir providus, præstans, fortis, genere nobilissimus, & imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutatus a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Composuit quædam opuscula, & ex immenso animi dolore demum obiisse fertur, Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 11. Menses octo, & dies sex: quum vidisset ex intestinis odiis, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pessùm ire, regnante Joanne.

The same in English.

HUbert Walter bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefest of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from

Palæstina and came in his journey into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leaving his journey homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the king was captived, whom the king immediatly upon his comming sent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and delivered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he shewed the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother John that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so received of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205, having beene archbishop the space of 11 yeres 8 moneths and sixe dayes, by reason of the civil discords abroad, whereby all things went topsie turvy, and in the reigne of king John.

The travailes of Robert Curson.

ROBertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex conjecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonii Academia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus usus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, & assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparavit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam petiit, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Unde uterque Matthæus Parisius, ac Westmonasterius, hoc de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini. 1218 (inquiunt) in cap-

tione Damiatæ Ægypti urbis, sub Joanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Robertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, &c.
[II. i. 32.] Bostonus Buriensis in suo Catalogo Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit anno superius numerato per prædictos testes in Anglia regnante Henrico tertio Joannis regis filio: fuítque hic diebus Honorii tertii Romani pontificis in Angliam, Bostono teste, legatus.

The same in English.

ROBert Curson descended of a noble family of England, used great diligence aswell in prophane as in divine studies in the famous University of Oxford (as I conjecture.) He had there the best scholemasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he lived. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Divinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a city of Egypt under John Brenne king of Jerusalem, M. Robert Curson an English man, a most famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote divers books. He flourished in the yeere aforesayd by the witnesses aforesayd. Henry the third sonne of king John being then king of England: and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorious the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of Ranulph earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, with divers other noble men to the Holy land, in the second yere of K. Henry the third. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202.

N the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Christians there against the Infidels, which at the same time had besieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterprise the valiancy of the same earle after his comming thither was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that journey Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, besides divers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, John constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliver fitz Roy sonne to the king of England, and divers others.

The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy land.

His yere, being the sixt yere of Henry the third, deceased Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, in their journey which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202. col. 2.

[The travailes

The travailes of Ranulph Glanvile earle of Chester.

RAnulphus Glanvile Cestriæ Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, & utroque jure eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me meritò ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes adolescentiæ suæ annos legibus tum humanis tum divinis consecravit, ut non prius in hominem per ætatem evaserit, quàm nomen decúsque ab insigni eruditione sibi comparaverit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaidem, inito cum Joanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege concilio, Damiatam Ægypti urbem obsidendam constituebant, anno salutis humanæ 1218. Misit illùc Henricus rex, ab Honorio 3 Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Christianam juvandam. Cujus virtus, Polydoro teste, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reversus, scripsit, De legibus Angliæ librum unum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à Servatoris nostri nativitate 1230 confectus senio, dum Henricus tertius sub Antichristi tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

The same in English.

RAnulph Glanvile earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both the Lawes, deserves of duetie to be here placed by me in the catalogue of woorthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the study of humane and divine Lawes, that he came not so soone to the age of a man, [II. i. 33.] as he had purchased to himselfe by reason of his singular learning, renowme and honour. When the noble men of France went to Ptolomais, upon the counsell of John Brenne king of Jerusalem, they resolved to besiege

Damiata a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king upon the motion of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome, sent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marveilously commended of all men. After the end of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is also reported that he wrote other books, but time the destroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from us. He flourished in the yeere after the nativity of Christ 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of K. Henry the third.

The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus bishop of Winchester, to Jerusalem in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of Henry the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, mense verò Julio, Petrus Wintoniensis episcopus, completo in terra sancta jam fere per quinquennium magnificè peregrinationis voto, reversus est in Angliam, Kalendis Augusti; & Wintoniam veniens, susceptus est cum processione solenni in sua ecclesia cathedrali.

The same in English.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of July, Peter bishop of Winchester having spent almost five whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of August, and comming unto Winchester was received with solemne procession into his cathedrall church.

[The honourable

The honourable and prosperous voyage of Richard earle of Cornewall, brother to king Henry the third, accompanied with William Longespee earle of Sarisburie, and many other noble men into Syria.

1240. N the 24 yeere of king Henry the third, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a navy of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly advanced the part of the Christians. There went over with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longspee, and William Basset, John Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, John Nevel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brense, and William Furnivall.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester went over also the same time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the sea at Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thorow Italy, and tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furnival with his brother Gerard de Furnivall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiscard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pesmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also John earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of Christian souldiers. Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Holesh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwine into England in the yere 1247, out of Matth. Paris, & Holensh. pag. 239. vol. 2.

ABout the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new ayd of the king towards the recovery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of William || Longespee Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of Henry the third, king of England.

|| *Or, Longsword.*

LEwis the French king being recovered of his sickenesse which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his journey into Asia, and the time thereof was also prefixed, which should be after the feast of S. John Baptist the next yeere ensuing. [II. i. 34.]

At which time William Longespee a worthie warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooved with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

It fell out in this enterprise, that about the beginning of October, the French king assaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the

Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and having fortified the Citie with an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooved his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed William Longespee, accompanied with a piked number of English warriors retaining unto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longespee and the Englishmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes, insomuch that the French king himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or castle replenished with great Ladies and rich treasure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the sayd William Longespee with his company of English soldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherwith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made privie hereto) began to conceive an heart burning against the English souldiers, & could not speake well of them after that.

A fort won by the Englishmen.

It hapned againe not long after, that the sayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, having their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious jewels, spices, gold & silver, with cart loades of other wares, beside victuall and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great need: he having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen unto him that he could, and so by night falling upon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some hee tooke, some hee put to flight: the carts with the drivers, and with the oxen, camels, asses and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke & brought with him, loosing in all the skirmish but one souldier,

A rich bootie also gotten by the Englishmen.

and eight of his servitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their pavillions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foresayd praie whole to themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen for adventuring and issuing out of the Campe without leave or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to have the spoyle devided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

The injurie of the Frenchmen to our English.

When this would not serve, hee being sore grieved in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so adventurously had travailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reason nor complaint would serve by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which upon spight and disdaine stood agaynst him, he bidding the King farewell sayd hee would serve him no longer: and so William de Longespee with the rest of his company breaking from the French hoste went to Achon. Upon whose departure the earle of Artoys sayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

Will. Longspee justly forsaketh ye French king.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, and being offended also with the Souldan, promised to deliver the same to the French king, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the king hereupon in all haste sent for William Longespee, promising him a full redresse of all his injuries before received: who at the kings request came to him againe, and so joyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king passing with his armie towardes Cayro aforesayd, came to the great river Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himselfe to withstand his comming over:

there was at this time a Saracen lately converted to Christ, serving the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the absence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the river where they might easily passe over. Whereupon the sayd earle Robert & the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army issued over the river, after whom followed W. Longspee with his band of English souldiers. These being joyned together on the other side of the water, encountred the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the French earle surprised with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, [II. i. 35.] would needs forward, dividing himselfe from the maine hoste, thinking to winne the spurres alone. To whom certaine sage men of the Temple, giving him contrary counsell, advised him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layed privily for them. The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreover their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reviled them, calling them cowardly dastards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, objecting unto them the common report of many, which sayd, that the land of the holy crosse might soone be woon to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitalaries, and their followers.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of

the Temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longespe the worthy knight to speake, desiring the earle to give eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and sweare, crying out of those cowardly Englishmen with tailes: What a pure armie (sayde he) should we have here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much disdaine: whereunto the English knight answering againe, well, Earle Robert (said he) wheresoever you dare set your foote, my step shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeve) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse, as in deede in the event it prooved true: for Earle Robert would needes set forward, weening to get all the glory to himselfe before the comming of the hoste, and first invaded a litle village or castle, which was not farre off, called Mansor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians comming, ranne out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians invading and entring into the munition incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood above, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie sore maymed, and almost in despaire.

The worthy answere of William Longespe to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly upon the same, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which seeing the Christian armie to be devided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so

inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to flie, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against us: To whom the Knight answering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horse, fled away, thinking to avoid by the swiftnes of his horse, and so taking the river Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespe bearing all the force of the enemies, stoode against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, till at length his horse being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens setting upon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man remained alive, saving two Templaries, one Hospitaler, and one poore rascall souldier, which brought tidings, hereof to the King.

The valiant ende of William Longespe.

And thus by the imprudent and foolish hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and that valiant English Knight overmatched, to the griefe of all Christian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the utter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into Asia in the yeere 1270. [II i. 36.]

About the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and divers other Noble men of England tooke upon them the crosse upon S. John Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subversion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the journey, there was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (having a mery and prosperous wind) within ten dayes arrived at Tunez, where he was with great joy welcommed, and entertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodovicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Navarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe, and sayd, the prince of this citie and the province adjoyning to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every yere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seven yeeres unpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the king knowing

the same tribute to be but justly demaunded, had now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paied his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, & have taken upon us the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch to ye holy city Jerusalem. Then said they, now have we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for us to breake the same. But let us returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe wel pleased therewith: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his closet or privy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat mooved to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and received and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord.

Within seven dayes after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicilia, over agaynst the Citie Trapes, casting their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the haven of the citie they sent out barges and boates to receive and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horses for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within boord.

At length towards the evening the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest and a mightie: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned there was of them at that

tempest lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no more saved then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good & wise Matrone, a Countesse or an Erles wife, who perceiving the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, & asked him whether in attempting to the shoare it were not possible to save themselves: he answered, that to save the ship it was impossible: howbeit the men [II. i. 37.] that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then sayd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, save the soules therein, and have to thee double the value of the shippe: who immediatly hoising the sailes with all force, ran the shippe aground so nere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, he brast the ship and saved all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe every one unto their owne lands: onely Edward the sonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved.

Then prince Edward renovating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Easter

The arrival of prince Edward at Acra.

arrived he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him sixe or seven thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some streit or other advantage, were espied by the prince, and returning againe upon them gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, set upon them very earely in the morning, and slew of them more then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum peregrinorum, situate upon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie against the Saracens, wherein 1000 *of them were slaine.*

In the meane season the king of Jerusalem sent unto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and joyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came unto him with great preparation & furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the governors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula sancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had slain certaine there, not finding any to make

resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came : when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they devised among themselves how by some pollicy they might circumvent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Joppa sent unto him, faining himselfe under great deceit willing to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and used of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the stony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this messenger came, and was of the princes servants searched according to the maner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be seene about him, he was had up into the princes chamber, and after his reverence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he delivered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitsuntide, upon a Tuesday, somewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed upon his bed bare headed, in his jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew somewhat backe to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him)

put his hand to his belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an invenomed knife, thinking to have stroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was striken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence wrasted the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the forehead, and immediatly thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

Prince Edward traiterously wounded.

[II. i. 38.]

The princes servants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the busling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke up a stoole, and beat out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heavy, and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blaming wise sayd unto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, sayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themselves, and were very sad and heavy.

Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them: why mutter you thus among your selves? what see

you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one sayd unto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the prince, I commit my selfe unto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? to whom the prince answered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that stood about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord John Voisie, And doe you also faithfully love your Lord and Prince? Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes presence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then sayd they unto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

This lord Edmund was the prince his brother.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and invenimed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and sayd unto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) upon your horsebacke, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet alive, he could scarsely beleeve the same, and sending unto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his God to witnesse that the same was done neither by him nor his

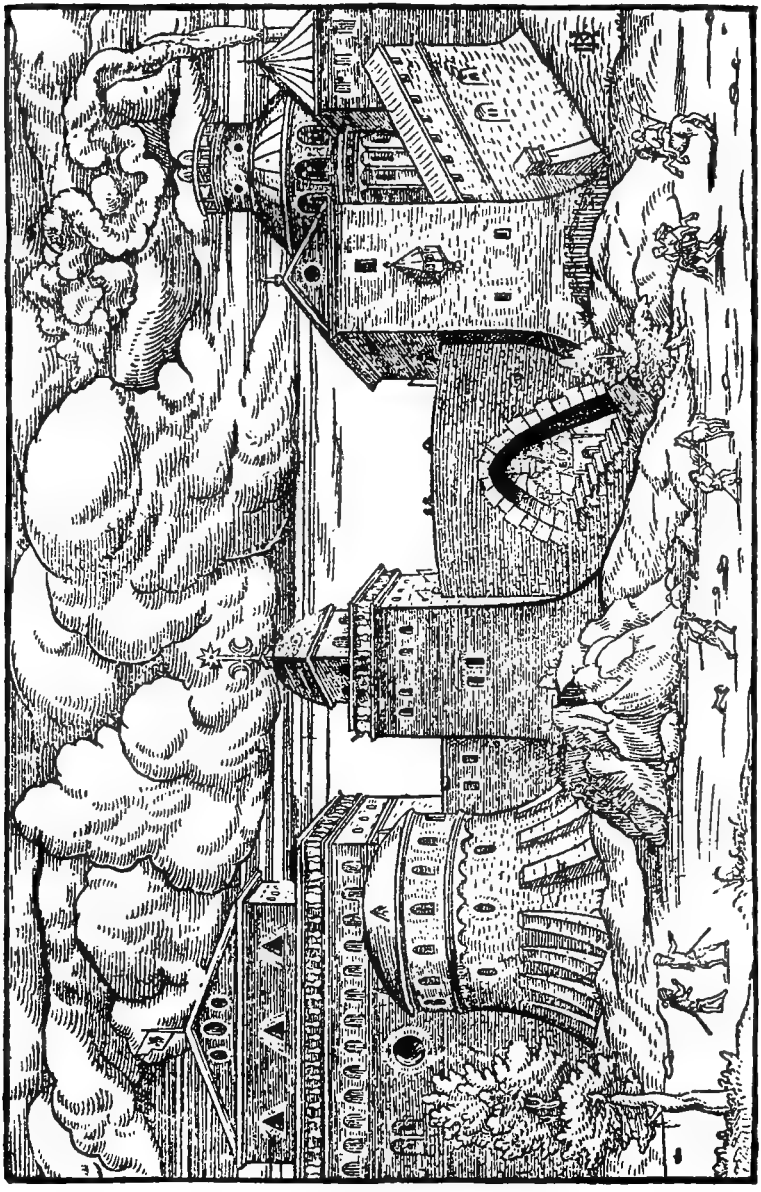
consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground: you (sayd the prince) do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English unto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neverthelesse he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seven weekes he arrived in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence travailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bruted among the common people, and envied of the Nobility, especially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to have intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the story: but Prince Edward continued foorth his journey to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The travaile of Robert Turneham.

ROBertus Turneham Franciscanus, Theologiæ professor insignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Isidis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, [II. i. 39.] Henrici tertii filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Saracenos Assyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæsitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi visus vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus



THE DEFENCES OF ACRE

Assyrios unà cum Anglico exercitu petiit, ac suum non sine laude præstitit officium. Claruit anno salutiferi partus, 1280, varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo ejus nominis primo post Conquestum.

The same in English.

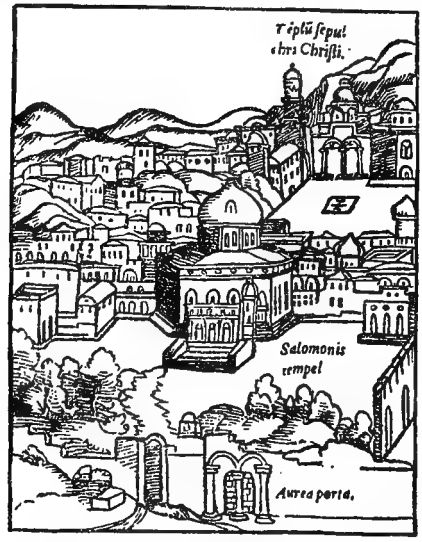
RObert Turneham Franciscan, a notable professour of Divinity, was with great dignity Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart towne of Linne, situate upon the river of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henry the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stir up the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standerd bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1280, setting foorth divers works under the same king Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

VIEW OF TYRE

VIEW OF TYRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1305. Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the fift bishop of Rome: in the 34 yere of Edward the first. Lelandus.

ANtonius Beckus episcopus Dunelmensis fuit, regnante Edwardo ejus appellationis ab adventu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus est in patriarcham Hiero-solomitanum anno Christi 1305, & a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus



JERUSALEM

erat supra quâm decebat episcopum. Construxit castrum Achelandæ, quatuor passuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Unduglessi fluvioli. Elteshamum etiam vicinum Grenovico, ac Somaridunum castellum Lindianæ provinciæ, ædificiis illustria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis est. Tandem ex splendore nimio, & potentia conflavit sibi apud nobilitatem ingentem invidiam, quam vivens nunquam extinguere

potuit. Sed de Antonio, & ejus scriptis fusiùs in opere, cujus titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obiit Antonius anno a nato in salutem nostram Christo, 1310, Edwardo secundo regnante.

The same in English.

ANthony Beck was bishop of Durisme in the time of the reigne of Edward the first of that name after the invasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Jerusalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded also the castle of Acheland foure miles from Durisme, on the shore of a prety river called Unduglesme. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor being nere unto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindsey. And lastly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the possession of prince Edward. Insomuch, that at length, through his over great magnificence and power he procured to himselfe great envy among the nobility, which he could not asswage during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will speake more at large in our booke intitled of the Britain bishops. This Anthony finished his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the second.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.

Icet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus hujus mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Julii de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna & mira vidi & audivi, quæ possum veracitèr enarrare. Primò transiens Mare Majus me de Pera juxta Constantinopolim transtuli

Trapesundam, quæ antiquitùs Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra benè situata est, sicut scala quædam Persarum & Medorum, & eorum qui sunt ultra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, scilicèt hominem ducentem secum plusquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per [II. i. 40.] terram gradiebatur, perdices vero volabant per aëra, quas ipse ad quoddam castrum dictum Zavena duxit, distans à Trapesunda per tres dietas: Hæ perdices illius conditionis erant, cùm homo ille quiescere voluit, omnes se aptabant circa ipsum, more pullorum gallinarum, & per illum modum duxit eas usque ad Trapesundam, & usque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis sumpsit quot voluit, & residuas vir ille ad locum unde venerat, adduxit. In hac civitate requiescit corpus Athanasii supra portam civitatis. Ultra transivi usque in Armeniam majorem, ad quandam civitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multùm opulenta antiquitùs, sed Tartari eam pro magna parte destruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis & carnium, & aliorum omnium victualium præterquam vini & fructuum. Hæc civitas est multum frigida, & de illa dicitur quòd altius situatur quàm aliqua alia in hoc mundo: hæc optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illarum aquarum oriri videntur & scaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per unam dietam ab civitate distat: hæc civitas via media eundi Taurisium. Ultra progressus sum ad quendam montem dictum Sobissacalo. In illa contrata est mons ille supra quem requiescit arca Noe; in quem libenter ascendissem, si societas mea me præstolare voluisset: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quòd nullus unquam illum montem ascendere potuit, quia ut dicitur, hoc Deo altissimo non placet. Ultra veni Tauris civitatem magnam & regalem, quæ antiquitùs Susis dicta est. Hæc civitas melior pro mercenariis reputatur, quàm aliqua quæ sit in mundo, nam nihil comestibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Hæc civitas multum benè situatur: Nam ad eam quasi totus mundus pro mercimoniis confluere potest: De hac dicunt Christiani qui ibi

Armenia major.

Tauris civitas Persiæ.

sunt, quòd credunt Imperatorem plus de ea accipere, quàm Regem Franciæ de toto regno suo: Juxta illam civitatem est mons salinus præbens sal civitati, & de illo sale unusquisque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil solvendo alicui. In hac civitate multi Christiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur. Ultra ivi per decem dietas ad civitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Persarum tempore æstivo *Sultania.* commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad civitatem aliam sitam supra mare vocatam Bakuc: Prædicta autem civitas magna est, & frigida, in se habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur. Ultra cum quadam societate Caravanorum ivi versus Indiam superiorem, ad quam dum transissem per multas dietas perveni ad civitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Cassan, quæ regia civitas *Vel Cassibin.* est & nobilis, nisi quod Tartari eam in magna parte destruxerunt: hæc abundat pane, vino, & aliis bonis multis. Ab hac civitate usque Jerusalem quo Magi iverunt miraculosè, sunt L. dietæ, & multa mirabilia sunt in hac civitate quæ pertranseo. Indè recessi ad quandam civitatem vocatam Gest à qua distat mare arenosum per *Gest.* unam dietam, quod mirè est mirabile & periculosum: In hac civitate est abundantia omnium victualium, & ficuum potissimè, & uvarum siccarum & viridium, plus ut credo quàm in alia parte mundi. Hæc est tertia civitas melior quam Rex Persarum habet in toto regno suo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Christianus ultra annum vivere unquam potest. Ultra per multas dietas ivi ad quandam civitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima *Como.* civitas antiquitùs erat, cujus ambitus erat ferè L. miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea sunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Ultra per multas terras transiens, perveni ad terram Job nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium plenissima est, & pulcherrimè situata; juxta eam sunt montes in quibus sunt pascua multa pro animalibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdices pro minori, quàm pro uno grosso: In

ea sunt pulcherrimi senes, ubi homines nent & filant, & fæminæ non: hæc terra correspondet Chaldeæ versus transmontana.

De moribus Chaldæorum, & de India.

INdè ivi in Chaldæam quæ est regnum magnum, & transivi juxta turrim Babel: Hæc regio suam linguam propriam habet, & ibi sunt homines formosi, & fœminæ turpes: & homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, & ornati, ut hîc mulieres, & portant super capita sua fasciola aurea cum gemmis, & margaritis; mulieres verò solum unam vilem camisiam attingentem usque ad genua, habentem manicas longas & largas, quæ usque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt discalciatæ portantes Serablans usque ad terram. Triceas non portant, sed capilli earum circumquaque disperguntur: & alia multa & mirabilia sunt ibidem. Indè veni in Indiam quæ infra terram est, quam Tartari multum destruxerunt; & in ea ut plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quarum xlii. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro uno grosso. Ultra [II. i. 41.] transivi per multas dietas ad mare oceanum, & prima *Ormus.* terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ est optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & divitiæ in ea sunt; in ea tantus calor est, quod virilia hominum exeunt corpus, & descendunt usque ad mediam tibiarum: ideò homines illius terræ volentes vivere, faciunt unctionum, & ungunt illa, & sic uncta in quibusdam sacculis ponunt circa se cingentes, & aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines utuntur navigio quæ vocatur Jase, sutum sparto. Egò autem ascendi in unum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginti octo dietis perveni ad civita- *Thana.* tem Thana, in qua pro fide Christi quatuor de fratribus nostris martyrizati sunt. Hæc terra est optimè situata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium. Hæc terra antiquitùs fuit valdè magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit. Hujus terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem, serpentes, & arbores: Et istam terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter

eam acceperunt, & subjacent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi sunt diversa genera bestiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi simiæ, gatimaymones, & noctuæ magnæ sicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni sunt, sicut sunt hîc scepi, & ideò canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, in illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum suam unum pedem fasciculorum, ita magnum sicut esset una columna, & pes ille non desiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur sibi aqua. Multæ novitates sunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum esset audire.

De martyrio fratrum.

MArtyrium autem quatuor fratrum nostrorum in illa civitate Thana fuit per istum modum; dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum una navi, ut navigarent usque Polumbrum, & violentèr deportati sunt usque Thanam ubi sunt 15. domus Christianorum, qui Nestoriani sunt & Schismatici, & cùm illic essent, hospitati sunt in domo cujusdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, & uxorem ejus, quam serò vir fortitèr verberavit, quæ suo Kadi, 1. Episcopo conquesta est; à qua interrogavit Kadi, utrum hoc probari posset? quæ dixit, quòd sic; quia 4. Franchi, 1. viri religiosi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipsos interrogate, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem sic dicente, Ecce unus de Alexandria præsens rogavit Kadi ut mitteret pro eis, dicens eos esse homines maximæ scientiæ & scripturas benè scire, & ideò dixit bonum esse cum illis de fide disputare: Qui misit pro illis, & adducti sunt isti quatuor, quorum nomina sunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Jacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimisso autem fratre Petro, ut res suas custodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide nostra disputare; dicens Christum tantùm hominem esse & non Deum. E contrà frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis Christum verum Deum & hominem esse evidenter ostendit, & in

tantum confudit Kadi, & infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi se sic confusum, incepit clamare sic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Respondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probavimus Christum verum Deum & hominem esse, qui legem posuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, si sapiens sis optimè scire poteris, quid de eo dicendum sit. Iterum Kadi & alii Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. respondit: vos omnes videre potestis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico, quòd Machometus vester filius perditionis est, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre suo. Et non solùm ipse, sed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipsa tota pestifera est, & falsa, & contra Deum, & contra salutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui sic contra Prophetam locutus est. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in sole urente stare permiserunt, ut ex calore solis adusti, dira morte interirent. Tantus enim est calor solis ibi, quòd si homo in eo per spacium unius missæ persisteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi sani & hilares à tertia usque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore solis permanserunt, quod videntes Saraceni stupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copiosum, & in illum vos projicere, & si fides vestra sit ut dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: si autem vos combusserit, patebit quòd fides vestra nulla sit. Responderunt fratres; parati sumus pro fide nostra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veruntamen scire debetis, quòd si ignis potestatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra: fides enim nostra perfectissima & verissima est, & non est alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum possunt salvæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres comburerentur, rumor insonuit per totam civitatem, de qua omnes senes, & juvenes, viri & mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad

illud spectaculum intuendum. Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam civitatis, ubi accensus est ignis copiosus, in quem frater Thomas voluit se projicere, sed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per caputium, & retraxit, dicens; Non vadas tu cum sis senex, quia carmen aliquod [II. i. 42.] vel experimentum habere posses super te, quare te ignis non posset lædere, sed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni sumentes fratrem Jacobum, eum in ignem projicere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquiescentes eum violentèr in ignem projecerunt: ignis autem ita accensus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen ejus audierunt, invocantem semper nomen virginis gloriosæ; Igne autem totalitèr consumpto stetit frater Jacobus super prunas illæsus, & lætus, manibus in modum crucis elevatis, in cœlum respiciens, & Deum laudans & glorificans, qui sic declararet fidem suam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus læsus per ignem inventus est; Quod videns populus unanimitèr conclamare cœpit, sancti sunt, sancti sunt, nefas est offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & sancta est. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: sanctus non est ille, quia combustus non est, quia tunica quam portat est de lana terræ Habraæ, & ideò nudus exspolietur, & in ignem projiciatur, & videbitur si comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni pessimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm priùs accenderunt, & fratrem Jacobum nudantes, corpus suum abluerunt, & oleo abundantissimè unxerunt, insuper & oleum maximum in struem lignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, fuderunt, & igne accenso fratrem in ipsum projecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco separato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis devotioni se dederunt. Frater autem Jacobus iterum ignem exivit illæsus sicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum est, peccatum est, offendere eos, quià sancti sunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich. i. potestas civitatis, vocavit ad se fratrem Jacobum, & fecit eum

ponere indumenta sua, & dixit, videte fratres, Ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos sanctos esse, & fidem vestram bonam ac veram esse; & ideo consulimus vobis, ut de ista terra exeatis, quàm citiùs poteritis, quia Kadi pro posse suo vobis nocere curabit, quia sic confudistis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quasi completorii, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & stupefacti, tot & tanta mirabilia vidimus ab istis hominibus, quòd nescimus quid tenere & observare debemus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres ultra unum parvum brachium maris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa civitate distantem: ad quem etiam ille in cujus jam domo fuerant hospitati associavit eos, ubi in domo cujusdam idolatri recepti sunt. Dùm hæc agerentur, Kadi ivit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus? Lex Machometi destructa est, veruntamen hoc scire debes, quod Machomet præcepit in suo Alcorano, quod si quis unum Christianum interficeret, tantum mereretur, ac si in Mecha ad ipsum peregrinaretur. Est enim Alkoranus lex Saracenorum sicut Evangelium, Mecha verò est locus ubi jacet Machomet. Quem locum ita visitant Saraceni, sicut Christiani sepulchrum Christi. Tunc Melich respondet, vade & fac sicut vis: quo dicto statim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos ut irent, & illos fratres interficerent, qui cùm aquam transiissent, facta est nox, & illo sero eos non invenerunt, statim Melich omnes Christianos in civitate capi fecit, & incarceravit, media autem nocte fratres surrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui missi fuerant, invenerunt, & extra burgum, sub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Sciatis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inviti, quia vos estis boni homines & sancti, sed non audemus aliter facere; quia si jussa sua non perficeremus, & nos cum liberis nostris & uxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres responderunt, vos qui hûc venistis, & tale mandatum recepistis, ut per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiscamur, quod vobis injunctum est perficite; quia

pro amore domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui pro nobis crucifigi & mori dignatus est, & pro fide nostra, parati sumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter sustinere. Christianus autem qui fratres comitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est dicens, quod si gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam sanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipse cum eis interfectus esset. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres se exspoliare, & frater Thomas primus junctis manibus in modum crucis genu flectens capitis abscissionem suscepit: Fratrem verò Jacobum unus percussit in capite, & eum usque ad oculos scidit, & alio ictu totum caput abscidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percussus est cum gladio in pectore, & secundò caput suum abscissum est: Statim ut fratres suum martyrium compleverunt, aër ita lucidus effectus est, quod omnes admirati sunt, & luna maximam claritatem ostendit. Statim quasi subito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & coruscationes, & obscuritas fiebant, quòd omnes mori crediderunt: Navis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportasse submersa est cum omnibus quæ in se habuit, ita quod nunquam de illa posteà aliquid scitum est. Facto mane misit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum nostrorum, & tunc inventus est frater Petrus de Senis quartus socius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alii Saraceni maxima promittentes persuaserunt quòd fidem suam renueret, & legem machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum deridendo, quem de mane usque ad meridiem diversis [II. i. 43.] pœnarum ac tormentorum generibus affixerunt ipso semper constantissimè in fide, & in Dei laudibus persistente, & fidem illorum Machometi deridente & destruente. Videntes autem Saraceni eum non posse a suo proposito evelli, eum super quandam arborem suspenderunt, in qua de nona usque ad noctem vivus & illæsus pependit: nocte verò ipsum de arbore sumpserunt, & videntes illum lætum, vivum, & illæsum per medium suum corpus diviserunt, mane autem facto nihil de corpore

ejus inventum est, uni tamen personæ fide dignæ revelatum est, quod Deus corpus ejus occultaverat revelandum in certo tempore, quandò Deo placuerit Sanctorum corpora manifestare. Ut autem Deus ostenderet animas suorum martyrum jam in cœlis consistere, & congaudere cum Deo & Angelis & aliis Sanctis ejus, die sequenti post martyrium fratrum prædictorum Melich dormitioni se dedit, & ecce aparuerunt sibi isti fratres gloriosi, & sicut Sol, lucidi, singulos enses tenentes in manibus, & supra eum eos sic vibrantes, quod ut si eum perfodere ac dividere vellent: qui excitatus horribilitèr exclamavit, sic, quòd totam familiam terruit: quæ sibi accurrens quæsivit, quid sibi esset? quibus ille, Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici jussi, venerunt huc ad me cum ensibus, volentes me interficere. Et statim Melich misit pro Kadi, referens sibi visionem, & petens consilium, & consolationem, quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi sibi consuluit, ut illis maximas eleemosynas faceret, si de manibus interfectorum evadere vellet. Tunc misit pro Christianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat: A quibus cum ad eum venissent indulgentiam petiit pro facto suo, dicens se esse amodò socium eorum, & confratrem: Præcepit autem & legem statuit, quòd pro tempore suo, si quis aliquem Christianum offenderet, statim moreretur, & sic omnes illæsos, & indemnes abire permisit. Pro illis autem quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor mosquetas. (i.) Ecclesias ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodsi istos tres fratres talem sententiam subiisse, misit pro Melich, ut vinctus ad eum duceretur, A quo cùm adductus esset, quæsivit imperator, quare ita crudelitèr illos fratres jusserat interfici, respondit, quia subvertere volebant legem nostram, & malum & blasphemiam de propheta nostro dicebant: & imperator ad eum; O crudelissime canis, cùm videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberaverit, quo modo ausus fuisti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta sententia, ipsum Melich cum tota sua familia per medium scindi fecit,

sicut ipse talem mortem fratri inflixerat. Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, & etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clàm fugit, & sic evasit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occisorum.

EST autem consuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur sepulturæ, sed in campis dimittuntur, & ex calore Solis citò resolvuntur, & sic consumuntur: Corpora autem trium fratrum prædictorum per 14. dies illic in fervore Solis jacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia inventa fuerunt sicut illa die quandò martirizati erant: quod videntes Christiani qui in illa terra habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorificè sepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyrium illorum fratrum, ivi illuc, & corpora eorum effodi, & ossa omnia mecum accepi, & in pulchris towalliis colligavi, & in Indiam superiorem ad unum locum fratrum nostrorum ea deportavi, habens mecum socium, & unum famulum. Cum autem essemus in via, hospitabamus in domo cujusdam hospitarii, & ipsa ossa capiti meo supposui, & dormivi: Et dùm dormirem domus illa à Saracenis subitò accendebatur, ut me cum domo comburerent. Domo autem sic accensa, socius meus & famulus de domo exierunt, & me solum cum ossibus dimiserunt, qui videns ignem supra me, ossa accepi & cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus statim combusti fuerunt, angulo in quo steti cum ossibus salvo remanente: Supra me autem ignis se tenuit in modum aëris lucidi, nec descendit quamdiu ibi persistebam; quàm citò autem cum ossibus exivi, statim tota pars illa sicut aliæ priores igne consumpta est, & multa alia loca circumadjacentia combusta sunt. Aliud miraculum contigit, me cum ossibus per mare proficiente ad civitatem Polumbrum ubi piper nascitur abundantèr, quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos suos pro vento prospero, quem tamen non obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni suas invocationes, & adorationes laboriose fecerunt, sed nihil pro-

fecerunt; Et præceptum est mihi & socio meo ut orationes funderemus Deo nostro: Et dixit rector navis in Armenico mihi, quod alii non intelligerent: quòd nisi possemus ventum prosperum à Deo nostro impetrare, nos cum ossibus in mare projicerent: Tunc ego & socius fecimus orationes, voventes multas missas de beata virgine celebrare, sic quòd ventum placeret sibi nobis impetrare. Cum autem tempus transiret, & ventus non veniret, accepi unum de ossibus, & dedi famulo, ut ad caput navis iret, & clàm in mare projiceret; quo projecto statim affuit ventus prosper qui nunquam nobis defecit, usquequò pervenimus ad portum, meritis istorum martyrum cum salute. Deinde ascendimus aliam navem ut in Indiam superiorem iremus; Et venimus ad quandam civitatem vocatam Carchan in qua sunt duo loca fratrum nostrorum, & ibi reponere istas reliquias volebamus. In navi autem
[II. i. 44.] illa erant plus 700. mercatores & alii: Nunc illi Idolatræ istam consuetudinem habebant, quòd semper antequàm ad portum applicuerint, totam navem perquirerent, si isti aliqua ossa mortuorum animalium invenirent, qui reperta statim in mare projicerent, & per hoc bonum portum attingere, & mortis periculum evadere crederent. Cùm autem frequentèr perquirerent, & illa ossa frequenter tangerent, semper oculi delusi fuerunt, sic quòd illa non perpenderunt; & sic ad locum fratrum deportavimus cum omni reverentia, ubi in pace requiescunt; ubi etiam inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo gravantur, in terra illa ubi fratres passi sunt ipsi vadunt, & de terra ubi corpora sanguinolenta jacuerunt sumunt quam abluunt, & ablutionem bibunt, & sic ab infirmitatibus suis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper, & ubi nascitur.

UT autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, sciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui,
Malabar. nomine *Minibar, nascitur, & in nulla parte mundi

tantum, quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo nascitur, continet octodecim dietas, & in ipso nemore sunt duæ civitates una nomine Flandrina, alia nomine Cyncilim: In Flandrina habitant Judæi aliqui & aliqui Christiani, inter quos est bellum frequenter, sed Christiani vincunt Judæos semper: In isto nemore habetur piper per istum modum. Nam primò nascitur in foliis olerum, quæ juxta magnas arbores plantantur, sicut nos ponimus vites; & producunt fructum, sicut racemi nostri producunt uvas; sed quandò maturescunt sunt viridis coloris, & sic vindemiantur ut inter nos vindemiantur uvæ, & ponuntur grana ad solem ut desiccentur: quæ desiccata reponuntur in vasis terreis, & sic fit piper, & custoditur. In isto autem nemore sunt flumina multa in quibus sunt Crocodili multi, & multi alii serpentes sunt in illo nemore, quos homines per stupam & paleas comburunt, & sic ad colligendum piper securè accedunt. A capite illius nemoris versus meridiem est civitas Polumbrum in qua maxima mercimonia cujuscunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bovem vivum sicut Deum suum adorant, quem 6. annis faciunt laborare, & in septimo faciunt ipsum quiescere ab omni opere; ponentes ipsum in loco solemni, & communi, & dicentes ipsum esse animal sanctum. Hunc autem ritum observant: quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelves de auro, vel de argento, & unam submittunt urinæ bovis, & aliam stercori, de urina lavant sibi faciem & oculos, & omnes 5. sensus: de stercore verò ponunt in utróque oculo, posteà liniunt summitates genarum, & tertiò pectus, & ex tunc dicunt se sanctificatos pro toto die illo: & sicut facit populus, ita etiam facit rex & regina. Isti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant, quod in medietate una superior est homo, & in alia est bos, & illud idolum dat eis responsa, & aliquotiens pro stipendio petit sanguinem, 40. virginum: & ideò homines illius regionis ita vovent filias suas & filios, sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni, vel sancto in cœlis. Et per istum modum

Polumbrum civitas. Adoratio bovis.

immolant filios & filias, & multi homines per istum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud, & multa alia abominabilia facit populus iste bestialis, & multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hîc inserere. Aliam consuetudinem vilissimam habet gens illa : Nam quando homo moritur, comburunt ipsum mortuum, & si uxorem habet, ipsam comburunt vivam, quia dicunt quòd ipsa ibit in aratura, & cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo : Si autem uxor illa habeat liberos ex viro suo, potest manere cum eis si velit sine verecundia & improperio, communiter tamen omnes præeligunt comburi cum marito ; si autem uxor præmoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum, sed potest aliam uxorem ducere. Aliam consuetudinem habet gens illa, quòd fœminæ ibi bibunt vinum, & homines non : fœminæ etiam faciunt sibi radi cilia, & supercilia, & barbam, & homines non : & sic de multis aliis vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum. Ab isto regno ivi decem dietas ad aliud regnum dictum Mobar, quod habet in se multas civitates, & in illo requiescit in una ecclesia corpus beati Thomæ Apostoli, & est ecclesia illa plena idolis, & in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Canonici vivunt in 15. domibus Nestoriani, id est, mali Christiani, & schismatici.

Combustio mortuorum.

Mobar regnum vel Maliapor.

De quodam idolo mirabili, & de quibusdam ritibus eorum.

IN hoc regno est unum Idolum mirabile, quod omnes Indi reverentur : & est statura hominis ita magni, sicut noster Christophorus depictus, & est totum de auro purissimo & splendidissimo, & circa collum habet unam chordulam sericam cum lapidibus pretiosissimis, quorum aliquis valet plus quàm unum regnum : Domus idoli est tota de auro, scilicet in tecto, & pavimento, & superficie parietum interius & exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi, sicut nos ad S. Petrum : Alii veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alii cum manibus retrò ligatis, alii cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, & si post peregrinationem fiat brachium

marcidum, illum reputant sanctum, & benè cum Deo suo. Juxta ecclesiam illius idoli est lacus unus manufactus, & manifestus, in quem peregrini projiciunt aurum & argentum, & lapides pretiosos in honorem Idoli, & ad ædificationem ecclesiæ suæ, & ideò quando aliquid debet ornari, vel reparari, vadunt homines ad [II. i. 45.] hunc lacum, & projecta extrahunt: die autem annua constructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in uno curru pretiosissimo ipsum de ecclesia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere musicorum, & multæ virgines antecedunt ipsum binæ & binæ, processionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt se sub curru, ut transeat Deus supra eos; & omnes super quos currus transit, comminuit, & per medium scindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sanctè & securè: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via sub idolo plusquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres sicut reliquiæ custodiuntur, quia sic pro Deo suo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert se mori pro deo suo, conveniunt omnes amici ejus & parentes cum histrionibus multis, facientes sibi festum magnum, & post festum appendunt collo ejus 5 cultellos acutissimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quò cum pervenerit, sumit unum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & frustum incisum projicit in faciem idoli: ultima verò incisione per quam seipsum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus ejus comburitur, & sanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis est ditissimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretiosis; ibi etiam sunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè transiens ivi per mare oceanum versus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Lammori, in qua ex immensitate caloris, tam viri quam fœminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me vestitum, deridebant me, dicentes

Crudelissima Santanæ tyrannis, & carnificina.

Deum, Adam & Evam fecisse nudos. In illa regione omnes mulieres sunt communes, ita quòd nullus potest dicere, hæc est uxor mea, & cùm mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hiis qui concubuerunt: *Platonica κοινονία.* Tota etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quòd non meum & tuum in divisione terrarum, domos tamen habent speciales: Carnes humanæ quando homo est pinguis ita benè comeduntur, sicut inter nos bovinæ: & licet gens sit pestifera, tamen terra optima est, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riso, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, canfari, & multis aliis. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt secum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, sicut nos vendimus porcos, qui statim *Simoltra vel Samotra.* occidunt eos & comedunt. In hac insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum vocatum Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres signant se ferro calido in facie, in 12. partibus, Et hii semper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Ultra transivi ad aliam insulam *Java.* quæ vocatur Java cujus ambitus per mare est trium millium milliarium, & rex illius insulæ habet sub se 7. reges coronatos, & hæc insula optimè inhabitatur, & melior secunda de mundo reputatur. In ea nascuntur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, & nuces muscatæ: & breviter omnes species ibi sunt, & maxima abundantia omnium victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobilissimum inter omnia quæ vidi altissimè stat, & gradus & scalas habet altissimos, quorum semper unus gradus est aureus, alius argenteus; Pavimentum verò unum laterem habet de auro, alium de argento. Parietes verò omnes interius sunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus sculpti sunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretiosis: Tectum est de auro puro. Cum isto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen semper ille Rex vicit & superavit.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

JUxta istam Insulam est alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Tathalamasim, & Rex illius contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In illa terra sunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & vinum, & etiam venenum periculosius quod sit in mundo, quia contra illud non est remedium, nisi unum solum, & est illud. Si aliquis illud venenum sumpsisset, si velit liberari, sumat stercus hominis & cum aqua temperet, & in bona quantitate bibat, & statim fugat venenum faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, sunt magnæ & bassæ, & quandò inciduntur cum securi propè terram, exit de stipite liquor quidam sicut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in sacculis de foliis factis, & per quindecim dies in sole dimittunt, & in fine decimi quinti diei ex isto liquore desiccato fit farina, quam primò ponunt in aqua maris, posteà lavant eam cum aqua dulci, & fit pasta valdè bona & odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes sicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & est panis exterius pulcher, sed interius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata est mare mortuum quod semper currit versus meridiem, in quod si homo ceciderit, nunquam posteà comparet. In contrata illa inveniuntur Cannæ longissimæ plures passus habentes quàm 60 & sunt magnæ ut arbores. Aliæ etiam Cannæ sunt ibi quæ vocantur Cassan quæ per terram diriguntur ut gramen, & in quolibet nodo earum ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur super terram per unum miliare ferè : in hiis Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum si quis unum super se portaverit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro, & ideò communiter homines illius contratæ portant illos lapides super : Multi etiam faciunt pueros suos dum sunt parvi incidi in uno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt unum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere se per unum pulverem de quodam pisce, cujus nomen ignoro, qui pulvis statim vulnus consolidat & sanat :

Vel Malasmi.

Mare quod semper currit versus meridiem.

[II. i. 46.]

& virtute illorum lapidum communitèr isti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec possent isti homines lædi per aliqua arma ferrea: Unum tamen remedium est, quòd adversarii illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum, provident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutissimos & ita duros in extremitate sicut esset ferrum: Similitèr sagittant cum sagittis sine ferro, & sic confundunt aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. De istis etiam Cannis Cassan faciunt sibi vela pro suis navibus & domunculas parvas, & multa sibi necessaria. Inde recessi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentissimum in omnibus victualibus. Cujus rex quando fui ibi tot habuit uxores, & alias mulieres, quòd de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iste rex habet decies millesies & quatuor elephantum domesticorum, quos ita facit custodiri sicut inter nos custodiunt boves, vel greges in pascuis.

Vela ex arundinibus facta.

Campa.

De multitudine Piscium, qui se projiciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata unum mirabile valdè reperitur, quòd unaquæque generatio piscium in mari ad istam contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quòd per magnum spatium maris nil videtur nisi dorsa piscium, & super aridam se projiciunt quando propè ripam sunt, & permittunt homines per tres dies venire, & de illis sumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redeunt ad mare: Post illam speciem per illum modum venit alia species, & offert se, & sic de omnibus speciebus, semel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quæsivi à gente illa quomodo & qualiter hoc possit fieri? responderunt quòd hoc modo pisces per naturam docentur venire, & imperatorem suum revereri. Ibi etiam sunt testitudines ita magnæ sicut est unus furnus, & multa alia vidi quæ incredibilia forent, nisi homo illa vidisset. In illa etiam contrata homo mortuus comburitur, & uxor viva cùm eo, sicut

Testitudines magnæ.

superius de alia contrata dictum est, quia dicunt homines, illi quòd illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi aliam uxorem accipiat. Ultra transivi per mare Oceanum versus meridiem, & transivi per multas contratas & insulas, quarum una vocatur Moumoran, *Moumoran.* & habet in circuitu 2000. milliaria, in qua homines portant facies caninas & mulieres similitèr, & unum bovem adorant pro Deo suo, & ideò quilibet unum bovem aureum vel argenteum in fronte portat: Homines illius contratæ & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, nisi quòd unum pannum lineum portant ante verenda sua. Homines illius regionis sunt maximi & fortissimi, & quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant unum scutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite usque ad pedes, & si contingat eos aliquem de adversariis capere in bello qui pecunia non possit redimi, statim comedunt eum; si autem possit se redimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum suum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo suo: Hic etiam portat in digito suo unum lapidem longitudinis unius spansæ, & dum habet illum videtur ab aliis quasi una flamma ignis, & ideò nullus audet sibi appropinquare, & dicitur quòd non est lapis in mundo pretiosior illo. Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Katai, nunquam vi, nec pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cùm tamen circa hoc laboraverit.

De Insula Ceilan, & de monte ubi Adam planxit Abel filium suum.

TRansivi per aliam insulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ *Ceilan insula.* habet in ambitu plusquam duo millia milliaria, in qua sunt serpentes quasi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, ursarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & silvestrium, & potissimè elephantum. In illa contrata est mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quòd Adam planxit Abel filium suum 500 annis. In medio illius montis est planicies pulcherrima, in qua

est lacus parvus multum habens de aqua, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuisse de lachrymis Adæ & Evæ, sed probavi hoc falsum esse, quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire: hæc aqua plena est hirudinibus & sanguisugis, & lapidibus pretiosis; istos lapides rex non accipit sibi, sed semel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes sub aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot possunt colligere illis concedit, ut orent pro anima sua. Ut autem possint sub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis ungunt se valdè benè, & sic nudos se in aquam submergunt, & sanguisugæ illis nocere non possunt. Ab isto lacu aqua exit & currit usque ad mare, & in transitu quandò retrahit se, fodiuntur Rubiæ, & adamantes, & margaritæ, & aliæ gemmæ pretiosæ: undè opinio est quod rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretiosis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa sunt quasi omnia genera animalium & avium; & dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quòd animalia illa nullum forensem invadunt, nec offendunt, sed tantum homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa insula aves ita magnas sicut sunt hîc anseres, habentes duo capita, & alia mirabilia quæ non scribo. Ultra versus meridiem transivi, & applicui ad insulam quandam

Bodin Insula. [II. i. 47.]

quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem est quod immundum in lingua nostra. In ea morantur pessimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiam faciunt quæ quasi excogitari non poterit; nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrem, & maritus uxorem, & è contrario, & hoc per hunc modum: si pater alicujus infirmetur, filius vadit ad Astrologum sacerdotem, scz. rogans eum quòd consulat Deum suum, si pater de tali infirmitate evadet, vel non. Tunc ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, facientes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noster, te adoramus, & rogamus ut nobis respondeas, debetnè talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberari? Tunc Dæmon respondet, & si dicat, vivet, filius vadit & ministrat illi usque ad plenam convalescentiam: Si autem dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & unum pannum super os ejus

ponet, & suffocabit eum, & ipsum mortuum incidet in frusta, & invitabuntur omnes amici, & parentes ejus ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni lætitia, ossa tamen ejus honorificè sepelient. Cùm autem ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens causam: Respondit unus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes ejus comedant, tunc ejus anima magnam pœnam sustineret, nec poteram evellere eos ab isto errore: & multæ aliæ novitates sunt ibi, quas non crederent, nisi qui viderent. Ego autem coram Deo nihil hîc refero, nisi illud de quo certus sum sicut homo certificari poterit. De ista insula inquisivi à multis expertis, qui omnes uno ore responderunt mihi, dicentes, quod ista India 4400. insulas continet sub se, sive in se, in qua etiam sunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam dicunt quod major pars illius insulæ benè inhabitatur. Et hîc istius Indiæ facio finem.

De India superiori, & de Provincia Manci.

IN primis refero, quòd cum transirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas versus Orientem, perveni ad illam magnam provinciam Manci, quæ India vocatur à Latinis. De ista India superiori inquisivi à Christianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales sunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes uno ore responderunt, quòd hæc provincia Manci habet plusquam 2000. magnarum civitatum, & in ipsa est maxima copia omnium victualium, puta, panis, vini, risi, carnium, piscium, &c. Omnes homines istius provinciæ sunt artifices & mercatores, qui pro quacunque penuria, dummodo propriis manibus juvare se possent per labores, nunquam ab aliquo eleemosynam peterent. Viri istius provinciæ sunt satis formosi, sed pallidi, & rasas & parvas barbas habentes; fœminæ verò sunt pulcherrimæ inter omnes de mundo. Prima civitas ad quam veni de ista India vocatur Ceuskalon, & distat à mari per unam dietam, positáque est super flumen, cujus aqua propè mare cui contignatur, ascendit super terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Ista autem civitas tantum navigium

Vel Ceuscala.

habet, quod incredibile foret nisi videnti. In hac civitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quàm pro uno grosso: Ibi sunt anseres grossiores & pulchriores, & majus forum de illis, quàm sit in mundo, ut credo, & sunt albissimi sicut lac, & habent unum os super caput quantitatis ovi, & habet colorem sanguineum, sub gula habent unam pellem pendentem semipedalem: Pinguissimi sunt, & optimi fori: & ita est de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ sunt valdè in illa terra plusquam duæ de nostris. Ibi sunt serpentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: unde qui faceret festum solemne, & non daret serpentes, nihil reputaret se facere: brevitèr in hac civitate sunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indè transivi per civitates multas, & veni ad civitatem nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portavi de ossibus fratrum nostrorum pro fide Christi interfectorum, de quibus supra. In hac est copia omnium victualium pro levissimo foro, hæc civitas ita magna est, sicut bis Bononia, & in ea multa monasteria religiosorum, qui omnes idolis serviunt. In uno autem istorum monasteriorum ego fui, & dictum est mihi quòd inerant 3000. religiosorum habentium 11000. idolorum, & unum illorum, quod quasi parvum inter cætera mihi videbatur, est ita magnum sicut Christophorus noster. Isti religiosi omni die pascunt Deos suos, unde semel ivi ad videndum comestionem illam, & vidi quòd illa quæ detulerunt sibi comestibilia sunt, & calidissima, & multum fumigantia, ita quòd fumus ascendit ad idola, & dixerunt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autem cibum illi reportaverunt & comederunt, & sic de fumo tantum Deos suos paverunt.

Hi sunt alcatrarsi vel onocratoli.

Vel Zaiton.

De Civitate Fuko.

ULtra versus Orientem veni ad civitatem quæ vocatur Fuko, cujus circuitus continet 30. milliaria, in qua sunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ sicut nix, lanam solum pro pennis habentes sicut

Vel Foquien.

pecudes. Hæc civitas pulcherrima est, & sita supra mare. Ultra ivi per 18. dietas, & pertransii multas terras & civitates, & in transitu veni ad quendam montem magnum, & vidi quòd in uno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra ut carbo, & homines & mulieres diversum modum vivendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba sicut nix, & homines totaliter diversè ab aliis vixerunt. Ibi omnes fœminæ quæ sunt desponsatæ portant in signum quòd habent maritos unum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde transivi per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddam magnum flumen, *Magnum flumen.* & intravi civitatem unam, quæ transversum illius fluminis habet pontem maximum, & hospitabar in domo unius hospitarii, qui volens mihi complacere, dixit mihi: [II. i. 48.] si velis videre piscari, veni mecum; & duxit me super pontem, & vidi in brachiis suis mergos ligatos super perticas, ad quorum gulam ubi ille ligavit unum filum, ne illi capientes pisces, comederent eos: Postea in brachio uno posuit 3. cistas magnas, & tunc dissolvit mergos de perticis, qui statim in aquam intraverunt, & pisces ceperunt, & cistas illas repleverunt in parva hora, quibus repletis vir ille dissolvit fila à collis eorum, & ipsi reintrantes flumen se de piscibus recreaverunt, & recreati ad perticas redierunt, & se ligari sicut priùs permiserunt: Ego autem de illis piscibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbantur. Inde transiens per multas dietas veni ad unam civitatem quæ vocatur *Kanasia, quæ sonat in lingua nostra civitas cœli: Nunquam ita magnam civitatem vidi, Circuitus enim ejus continet 100. milliaria, nec in ea vidi spatium quin benè inhabitaretur; Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. solaria unum supra aliud: hæc habet suburbia maxima continentia majorem populum quàm ipsa civitas contineat. 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarum portarum ad 8. milliaria sunt civitates fortè majores ut æstimo, quàm est civitas Venetiarum, & Padua. Hæc civitas sita est in aquis quæ semper stant, & nec fluunt, nec refluunt, vallum tamen habet propter ventum sicut civitas Vene- *Aliâs Cansai, vel Quinzai.*

tiarum. In ea sunt plus decem mille & 2. pontium, quorum multos numeravi & transivi, & in quolibet ponte stant custodes civitatis continuè custodientes civitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Unum mandatum dicunt gentes illius civitatis a domino se recepisse. Nam quilibet ignis solvit unum balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui unum florenum cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. supellectiles facient unum ignem, & sic pro uno igne solvent. Isti ignes sunt benè 85. Thuman, cum aliis 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò unum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo civitatis sunt alii Christiani, alii mercatores, & alii transeuntes per terram, undè maximè fui miratus quo modo tot corpora hominum poterant simul habitare: In ea est maxima copia victualium, scz. panis & vini, & carnium de porco præcipuè cum aliis necessariis.

De monasterio ubi sunt multa animalia diversa in quodam monte.

IN illa civitate 4 fratres nostri converterant unum potentem ad fidem Christi, in cujus hospitio continuè habitabam, dum fui ibi, qui semèl dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre civitatem istam; & dixi quòd sic, & ascendimus unam barcham, & ivimus ad unum monasterium maximum, de quo vocavit unum religiosum sibi notum, & dixit sibi de me. Iste Raban Francus, i. religiosus venit de indè ubi sol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, ut deprecetur vitam pro magno Cane, & ideò ostendas sibi aliquid, quòd si revertatur ad contratas suas possit referre quòd tale quid novum vidi in Canasia civitate: tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos reliquiis quæ supererant de mensa, & duxit me ad unam perclusam parvam, quam aperuit cum clave, & aparuit viridarium gratiosum & magnum in quod intravimus, & in illo viridario stat unus monticulus sicut unum campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsit cymbalum, & incœpit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur

quandò monachi intrant refectorium, ad cujus sonitum multa animalia diversa descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua ut simiæ, aliqua ut Cati, Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum sic starem congregaverunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & se in ordinibus collocaverunt, coram quibus posuit paropsidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comedissent iterum cymbalum percussit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquisivi quæ essent animalia ista? Et respondit mihi quod sunt animæ nobilium virorum, quas nos hîc pascimus amore Dei, qui regit orbem, & sicut unus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima ejus post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat. Animæ verò simplicium & rusticorum, corpora vilium animalium intrant. Incœpi istam abusionem improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi, non enim poterat credere, quòd aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere. Indè transivi ad quandam civitatem nomine Chilenso, cujus muri per 40. milliaria circuerunt. In ista civitate sunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quàm unquam viderim, & benè inhabitatur, & navigium maximum habet, & copiam omnium victualium, & aliorum bonorum. Inde ivi ad quoddam flumen dictum Thalay, quod ubi est strictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmæorum transit, quorum civitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus civitatibus mundi est. Isti Pigmæi habent longitudinem trium spansarum mearum, & faciunt majora & meliora goton, & bombicinam quàm aliqui homines in mundo. Indè per illud flumen transiens, veni ad unam civitatem Janzu, in qua est unus locus fratrum nostrorum, & sunt in ea tres ecclesiæ Nestorianorum: hæc civitas nobilis est, & magna, habens in se 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia in magna copia, de quo Christiani vivunt: Dominus istius civitatis solum de sale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Balisi, & valet balisus unum florenum cum dimidio: Ita quòd unum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, unam tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne sit caristia in

Pythagorica μετεμψύχοσις.

Chilenso.

Thalay.

Kakam.

eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hæc civitas consuetudinem, quòd quando unus vult facere convivium amicis suis, ad hoc sunt hospitia deputata, & ubi ille circuit per hospites, [II. i. 49.] dicens sibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos festabis nomine meo, & tantum in festo volo expendere, & per illum modum meliùs convivant amici in pluribus hospitiis quàm facerent in uno. Per 10. milliaria ab ista civitate *Montu.* in capite fluminis Thalay est una civitas vocata Montu, quæ majus navigium habet, quàm viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naves ibi sunt albæ sicùt nix, & in ipsis sunt hospitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet nisi viderentur.

De civitate Cambaleth.

INdè transivi per 8. dietas per multas terras & civitates, & veni tandèm per aquam dulcem ad quandam civitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ est posita super flumen *Caramoran.* vocatum Caramoran, quod per medium Catai transit, & magnum damnum sibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè transiens per flumen versus Orientem per multas dietas & civitates, veni ad unam civitatem nomine Sumacoto, quæ majorem copiam habet de serico, quàm aliqua civitas in mundo; Quando enim est major caristia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quàm pro 8. grossis. In ea est copia omnium mercimoniorum, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carnium, piscium, & omnium specierum electarum. Inde transivi versus Orientem per multas civitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, & nominatam *Cambalec.* Cambaleth quæ est civitas multum antiqua, & est in provincia Catai, & eam ceperunt Tartari: Et juxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam civitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido & hæc 12. portas habet, & semper inter unam & aliam sunt duo miliaria, & medium inter illas civitates benè inhabitatur, ita quòd faciunt quasi unam civitatem; Et ambitus istarum duarum civitatum est *Mandevil cap.* 33. plusquàm 40. milliaria. In hac civitate magnus imperator Canis habet sedem suam principalem, & suum magnum palatium, cujus muri benè 4. milliaria continent; & infra

illud palatium sunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia sua. In palatio etiam illo est unus mons pulcherrimus consitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte palatium amœnissimum in quo communitèr Canis residet: A latere autem montis est unus lacus magnus, supra quem pons pulcherrimus est factus, & in illo lacu est magna copia anserum & anatum, & omnium avium aquaticarum; & in silva montis copia omnium avium & ferarum silvestrium, & ideò quandò dominus Canis vult venari non oportet eum exire palatium suum. Palatium verò principale, in quo sedes sua est, est magnum valdè, & habet interius 14. columnas aureas, & omnes muri ejus cooperti sunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatii est una pigna altitudinis duorum passuum, quæ tota est de uno lapide pretioso nomine merdochas; & est tota circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo ejus est unus serpens de auro qui verberat os fortissimè: Habet etiam hæc pigna retia de margaritis, & per istam pignam defertur potus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & juxta eam pendent multa vasa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere possunt. In hoc autem palatio sunt multi pavones de auro; & cùm aliquis Tartarus facit festum domino suo, tunc quando convivantes collidunt manus suas præ gaudio & lætitia, pavones emittunt alas suas, & expandunt caudas, & videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factum arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea.

De gloria magni Canis.

QUando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in sede sua imperiali residet, tunc a sinistro latere sedet Regina, & per unum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipse tenet pro se, quando non potest ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu resident omnes dominæ de sua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant supra caput suum unum pedem hominis, longitudinis unius brachii cum dimidio; & subter illum pedem sunt

pennæ gruis, & totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipsius Canis residet filius ejus primogenitus, regnaturus post ipsum, & inferius ipso omnes qui sunt de sanguine regio: Ibi etiam sunt 4. scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Ante cujus conspectum sunt Barones sui, & multi alii nobiles cum sua gente maxima, quorum nullus audet loqui nisi à domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis & histrionibus, qui suum dominum consolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, nisi secundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Ante portam palatii sunt Barones custodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cùm autem ille Canis voluerit facere convivium, habet secum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, & domino suo servientes; Et quilibet portat unam vestem de auro & margaritis tot quot valent plus quàm decies millies florenorum. Curia ejus optime ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, & millenarios, & talitèr quòd quilibet in suo ordine peragit officium sibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, & multotiens in istis festis suis fui, quià nos fratres minores in sua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos semper ire, & dare sibi nostram benedictionem: Et inquisivi ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui sunt in curia domini, & responderunt mihi quòd de histrionibus sunt bene 18. Thuman; Custodes autem canum & bestiarum, & avium sunt
[II. i. 50.] 15. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis sunt 400. Christiani autem 8. & unus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hii omnes omnia necessaria tam ad victum, quam ad vestitum habebant de curia domini Canis. Quando autem vult equitare de una terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & unus per unam dietam ipsum antecedit, secundus aliam, & tertius similitèr, & quartus; ita quòd semper ipse se tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas suas ordinatas, quòd inveniunt omnia victualia parata sine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit;

Sedet in curru cùm duabus rotis in quo facta est pulcherrima sella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretiosis; & 4. Elephantes benè ordinati ducunt istum currum, quos præcedunt 4. equi altissimi optimè cooperti. Juxta currum à lateribus sunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, nè aliquis appropinquet domino suo. Supra currum sedent duo Gerfalcones albissimi, & dùm videt aves quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capiunt eas; Et sic habet solatium suum equitando, & per jactum unius lapidis nullus audet appropinquare currui nisi populus assignatus: undè incredibile esset homini qui non vidisset de numero gentis suæ, & reginæ, & primogeniti sui. Iste dominus Canis imperium suum divisit in 12. partes, & una habet sub se 200. magnarum civitatum: undè ita latum & longum est suum imperium, quòd ad quamcunque partem iret, satis haberes facere in sex mensibus, exceptis insulis, quæ sunt bene 5000.

De hospitiis paratis per totum imperium pro transeuntibus.

ISte dominus, ut transeuntes habeant omnia necessaria sua per totum suum imperium, fecit hospitia præparari ubique per vias; in quibus sunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua novitas oritur in imperio suo, tunc si distat, ambassiatores super equos vel dromedarios festinant, & cùm lassantur in cursu, pulsant cornu, & proximum hospitium parat unum similitèr equum, qui quando alius venit fessus accipit literam, & currit ad hospitium, & sic per hospitia, & per diversos cursores rumor per 30. dietas, uno die naturali venit ad imperatorem; & ideò nihil ponderis potest fieri in imperio suo, quin statim scitur ab eo. Cum autem ipse Canis vult ire venatum; istum modum habet. Extra Cambaleth ad 20. dietas, est una foresta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua sunt tot genera animalium & avium quòd mirabile est dicere: Ad illud nemus vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota

gente, cum qua ipsum circuit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, scilicet leones, cervos, & alia animalia reducunt ad unam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè tremunt omnes bestiæ sylvæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis super tres elephantes & 5. sagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & post ipsum omnes Barones, & post ipsos alii de familia sua emittunt sagittas suas; & omnes sagittæ sunt signatæ certis signis & diversis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens viva nemus reintrare ut aliâs habeat ex eis venationem suam, & quilibet illud animal habebit in cujus corpore invenit sagittam suam quam jaciebat.

De quatuor festis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

QUatuor magna festa in anno facit Dominus Canis, scilicet festum nativitatis, festum circumcisionis, coronationis, & desponsationis suæ; & ad ista festa convocat omnes Barones, & histriones, & omnes de parentela sua. Tunc domino Cane in suo throno sedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, vestiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, scilicet primi, secundi de sanguineo, & tertii de croceo, & tenent in manibus unam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis uno semisse latis, & stant pedibus silentium tenentes. Circa illos stant histriones cum suis instrumentis: In uno autem angulo cujusdam magni palatii resident Philosophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes; & cùm devenitur ad punctum & horam petitam à philosopho, unus præco clamat valentèr. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori vestro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; & iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, & illi statim surgunt. Iterum Philosophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cùm perventum fuerit, iterum præco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, & statim dicit, extrahite ipsum; iterùm ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: & multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia

dicunt certam significationem habere, quæ scribere nolui, nec curavi, quia vana sunt & risu digna. Cùm autem perventum fuerit ad horam histrionum, tunc Philosophi dicunt, facite festum domino, & omnes pulsant instrumenta sua, & faciunt maximum sonitum; & statim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, & omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt histrionatrices ante dominum dulcitèr modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, & faciunt reverentiam domino Cani; Et tunc histriones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum se applicare ut bibant. Hæc & multa alia [II. i. 51.] mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet nisi videret; & ideò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audivi à fide dignis, quòd in uno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi, qui quando sunt maturi aperiuntur, & intùs invenitur una bestiola similis uni agnello: sicut audivi quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripam maris & portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aves vocatæ Bernakles, & illud est verum.

De diversis Provinciis & civitatibus.

DE isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, & transivi 50. dietas versus Occidentem; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cujus civitas principalis Kosan vocatur, quæ multas habet sub se civitates. Ultra per multas dietas ivi, & perveni ad unam provinciam vocatam Kasan; & hæc est secunda melior provincia mundi, ut *Casan.* dicitur, & est optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta unius civitatis, videntur portæ alterius civitatis, sicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Provinciæ est 50. dietarum, & longitudo plusquam 60. In ea est maxima copia omnium victualium, & maximè castaneorum; & hæc est una de 12. provinciis magni Canis. Ultra veni ad unum regnum vocatum Tibek quod est *Tibec regio aliâs Tebet Guillielmo de Rubricis.* subjectum Cani, in quo est major copia panis & vini, quam sit in toto mundo ut credo. Gens illius terræ

moratur communiter in tentoriis factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis civitas sua murata est pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albissimis, & nigerrimis interescalariter dispositis & curiosè compositis, & omnes viæ ejus optimè pavatæ. In ista contrata nullus audet effundere sanguinem hominis, nec alicujus animalis, ob reverentiam unius Idoli. In ista civitate moratur Abassi 1. Papa eorum, qui est caput & princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat & distribuit beneficia secundum morem eorum; sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant plusquam centum tricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicujus moritur, tunc filius convocat omnes sacerdotes & histriones, & dicit se velle patrem suum honorare, & facit eum ad campum duci sequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, ubi sacerdotes cum magna solemnitate amputant caput suum, dantes illud filio suo, & tunc totum corpus in frusta concidunt, & ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum eo redeuntes; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte assuefacti ad hujusmodi, & carnes omnes asportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd sanctus est, quia angeli domini ipsum portant in paradisum: Et iste est maximus honor, quem reputat filius posse fieri patri suo mortuo: Tunc filius sumit caput patris, & coquit ipsum, & comedit, de testa ejus faciens ciphum in quo ipse cum omnibus de domo & cognatione ejus bibunt cum solemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comesti. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

Eadem historia de eodem populo apud Guilielmum de Rubricis.

De divite qui pascitur à 50. Virginibus.

DUm fui in provincia Manzi transivi juxta palatium unius hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines sibi continuè ministrantes, in omnibus pascentes eum sicut avis aviculas, & habet semper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando pascunt eum, continuè cantant dulcissimè: Iste habet in redditibus Tagaris risi 30.

Thuman, quorum quodlibet decies millies facit: unum autem Tagar pondus est asini. Palatium suum quo milliaria tenet in ambitu; cujus pavimentum semper unum laterem habet aureum, alium argenteum: Juxta ambitum istius palatii est unus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, super quo stant Monasteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines sunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum est longos habere ungues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus circueunt sibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum est parvos habere pedes: Et ideò matres quandò filiæ suæ sunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non dimittunt crescere. *Mulierum parvi pedes.*

Ultra transiens versus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Milestorite, quæ pulchra est valdè & fertilis; Et in ista contrata erat unus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat sibi unum murum circumeuntem istos montes. Infra istum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et juxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, & equi pulcherrimi, & omne illud quod ad suavitatem, & delectationem corporis fieri poterit, & ideò illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradisum. Iste Senex cùm viderit aliquem juvenem formosum & robustum, posuit eum in illo paradiso; Per quosdam autem conductus descendere facit vinum & lac abundantèr. Iste Senex cùm voluerit se vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiso ut aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradisum illum, & illum deliciis frui permitteret, & tunc daret sibi potionem unam, quæ ipsum sopiebat in tantum, quòd insensibilem redderet, & ipsum sic dormientem faceret extra paradisum deportari: qui excitatus & se extra paradisum conspiciens, in tanta tristitia positus foret, quòd nesciret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum senem iret, rogans eum, ut iterùm in paradisum introduceretur; qui sibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, nisi talem vel talem interficias; & sive interfeceris, sive non, *Milestorite.* [II. i. 52.]

reponam te in paradiso, & ibidem poteris semper manere; Tunc ille sic faceret, & omnes seni odiosos interficeret; Et ideò omnes reges orientales illum senem timuerunt, & sibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

CUm autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepissent, venerunt ad istum Senem, & dominium illius Paradisi ab eo abstulerunt, qui multos sicarios de Paradiso illo emisit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interfici fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes civitatem, in qua erat senex obsederunt, eum ceperunt, & pessima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quòd citissimè per virtutem nominis Christi Jesu, & in virtute illius sanguinis pretiosi, quem effudit in cruce pro salute generis humani, dæmonia ab obsessis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem sunt obsessi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati statim credunt in Christum, qui liberavit eos habentes ipsum pro Deo suo, & baptizati sunt, & idola sua, & pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quæ sunt communitèr de feltro, & de crinibus mulierum: & fratres ignem in communi loco faciunt ad quem populus confluit, ut videat Deos vicinorum suorum comburi, & fratres coram populo Idola in ignem projiciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta consperserunt, & iterùm Idola in ignem projecerunt, & dæmones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, & Idola remanserunt, & combusta sunt. Posteà auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulsus sum. Et per istum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidivant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuò quasi stent cum illis, & illos informent. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cùm irem per unam vallem, quæ sita est juxta fluvium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audivi sonos musicos dulces & diversos, & maximè de cytharis, undè multum timui. Hæc

vallis habet longitudinem septem, vel octo milliarium ad plus, in quam si quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam vivus potest transire per medium illius vallis, & ideò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc esset. Tandem orans & Deo me recommendans, & cruce signans, in nomine Jesu intravi, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet nisi videret. In hac valle ab uno ejus latere, in uno saxo unam faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribilitèr me respexit, quòd omninò credidi ibi fuisse mortuus: Sed semper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum est & habitavit in nobis) protuli, & cruce me signavi, nec propiùs quàm per 7. passus, vel 8. accedere capiti ausus fui: Ivi autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & super unum monticulum arenosum ascendi, in quo undique circumspiciens nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, quas per se (ut mihi videbatur) pulsari & resonare mirabiliter audivi. Cùm verò fui in cacumine montis, inveni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quasi fuissent squamæ piscium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientia, in terram projeci, nihil mecum reservans, & sic per gratiam dei liber exivi. Cùm autem homines illius contratæ sciverunt me vivum exisse, reverebantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & sanctum: & corpora illa fuisse dæmonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas ut homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Hæc de visis certudinalitèr ego frater Odoricus hîc inscripsi; & multa mirabilia omisi ponere, quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent.

De honore & reverentia factis Domino Cani.

UNum tantùm referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in partibus illis quòd quando prædictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines ante ostia sua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, ut dominus transiens suavem sentiat odorem, & multi obviam sibi vadunt. Dum autem

semel veniret in Cambeleth, & fama undique divulgaretur de suo adventu, unus noster Episcopus, & aliqui nostri minores fratres & ego ivimus obviàm sibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, posuimus crucem super lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator spiritus: Et dum sic cantaremus audivit voces nostras, fecitque nos vocari, ac jussit nos ad eum accedere; cùm ut suprà dictum est, nullus audeat appropinquare currui suo ad jactum lapidis, nisi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum custodiunt. Et dum ivissemus ad eum, ipse deposuit galerum suum, sive capellum inestimabilis quasi valoris, [II. i. 53.] & fecit reverentiam Cruci; & statim incensum posui in thuribulo; Episcopus noster accepit thuribulum, & thurificavit eum; ac sibi prædictus Episcopus dedit benedictionem suam. Accedentes verò ad prædictum dominum, sempèr sibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; secum illam antiquam legem observantes; Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus; Idcircò portavimus nobiscum poma, & ea sibi super unum incisorium reverentèr obtulimus; & ipse duo accepit, & de uno aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis signum quòd recederemus, ne equi venientes in aliquo nos offenderent; statimque ab eo discessimus, atque divertimus, & ivimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conversos, qui in exercitu ejus erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa accipientes ita videbantur lætari, ac si præbuissemus eis familiaritèr magnum munus. Hæc prædicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in scriptis redegit, sicùt prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. mense Maii in loco Sancti Antonii de Padua; Nec curavit de latino difficili, & stilo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc ut homines faciliùs intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Julii de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum testificor, &

testimonium perhibeo reverendo patri Guidoto ministro provinciæ Sancti Antonii in Marchia Trivisana, cùm ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus, quòd hæc omnia quæ superiùs scripta sunt, aut propriis oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis audivi: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec vidi testatur esse; Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem, nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & vivere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo.

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam ut via & labor esset sibi magis ad meritum, decrevit primò præsentiam adire Domini & patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Joannis Papæ 22. cujus benedictione obedientiáque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cúmque sic eundo versus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à civitate Pisana, in quadam via occurrit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini eum salutans ex nomine, Ave (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quæreret quo modo ipsius haberet noticiam? Respondit, Dum eras in India novi te, tuúmque novi sanctum propositum; Sed & tu modò ad conventum undè venisti revertere, quia die sequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus & stupefactus, præsertim cùm Senex ille statim post dictum ab ejus aspectu disparuit; reverti decrevit; Et reversus est in bona prosperitate nullam sentiens gravedinem corporis, seu aliquam infirmitatem; Cúmque esset in conventu suo Utinensi. N. in provincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta sibi fuit revelatio, accepta communione, ipsóque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore existens incolumis in Domino fœlicitèr requievit: Cujus

sacer obitus Domino summo Pontifici præfato sub manu Notarii publici transmittitur; qui sic scribit.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Januarii obiit in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cujus precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonstravit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Utini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, & consilii Utini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quià sunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad scribendum.

Here beginneth the journall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tartars of the East.

ALbeit many and sundry things are reported by divers authors concerning the fashions and conditions of this world: notwithstanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being desirous to travel unto the forrein and remote nations of infidels, sawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truely to avouch. First of al therefore sayling from Pera by Constantinople, I arrived at Trapesunda. This place is right commodiously situate, as being an haven for the Persians and Medes, and other countreis beyonde the sea. In this lande I behelde with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him more then foure thousande partriges. The man himselfe walked upon the ground, and the partriges flew in the aire, which he ledde unto a certaine castle called Zavena, being three dayes journey distant from Trapesunda. The saide partriges were so tame, that when the man was desirous to lie downe and rest, they

Pera.

Trapesunda.

[II. i. 54.]

would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so hee led them unto Trapesunda, and unto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleased, and the rest the saide man carried unto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Athanasius, upon the gate of the citie. And then I passed on further unto Armenia major, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tartars have almost layed it waste. In the saide citie there was abundance of bread and flesh, and of all other victuals except wine and fruites. This citie also is very colde, and is reported to be higher situated, then any other city in the world. It hath most holesome and sweete waters about it: for the veines of the said waters seeme to spring and flow from the mighty river of Euphrates, which is but a dayes journey from the saide city. Also, the said citie stands directly in the way to Tauris. And I passed on unto a certaine mountaine called Sobissacalo. In the foresaide countrey there is the very same mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah rested: unto the which I would willingly have ascended, if my company would have stayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could ever ascend the said mountaine, because (say they) it pleaseth not the highest God. And I travailed on further unto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Susis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the world: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing else belonging unto marchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city stands very commodiously: for unto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may resort for traffique. Concerning the said citie, the Christians in those parts are of opinion, that the Persian Emperour receives more tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare unto the said city there is a salt-hill yeelding salt unto the city: and of

The citie of Azaron in Armenia major.

Sobissacalo.

Tauris a citie of Persia.

that salt ech man may take what pleaseth him, not paying ought to any man therefore. In this city many Christians of all nations do inhabite, over whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. Then I traveiled on further unto a *Or, Sultania.* city called * Soldania, wherein the Persian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progresse *The Caspian sea.* unto another city standing upon the Sea called * Baku. Also the foresaid city is very great and colde, having good and holesome waters therein, unto the which also store of marchandize is brought. Moreover I travelled with a certaine company of Caravans toward upper India: and in the way, after many dayes journey, I came unto *Or, Cassibin.* the citie of the three wise men called * Cassan, which is a noble and renowmed city, saving that the Tartars have destroyed a great part thereof, and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city unto Jerusalem (whither the three foresaid wisemen were miraculously led) it is fiftie dayes journey. There be many wonders in this citie also, which, for brevities sake, I omit. From thence I departed unto a certaine *Geste.* city called * Geste, whence the Sea of Sand is distant, one dayes journey, which is a most wonderfull and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinds of victuals, and especially of figs, reisins, and grapes; more (as I suppose) then in any part of the whole world besides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Persian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Christian can by any meanes live therein above a yeere. Then passing many dayes journey on forward, I *Como.* came unto a certaine citie called * Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde time, conteyning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times past great damage unto the Romanes. In it there are stately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, notwithstanding it aboundeth with great store of victuals. From hence traveiling through many countreys, at length I came unto the land of Job named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleasantly situated. There-

abouts are certaine mountaines having good pastures for cattell upon them. Here also Manna is found in great aboundance. Foure partriges are here solde for lesse then a groat. In this countrey there are most comely olde men. Here also the men spin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth upon the North part of Chaldæa.

Of the maners of the Chaldæans, and of India.

FRom thence I traveled into Chaldæa, which is a great kingdome, and I passed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar unto it selfe, and there are beautifull men, and deformed women. The men of the same countrey use to have their haire kempt, and trimmed like unto our women: and they weare golden turbants upon their heades richly set with pearle, and pretious stones. The women are clad in a course smock onely reaching to their knees, and having long sleeves hanging downe to the ground. And they goe barefooted, wearing breeches which reach to the ground also. They weare no attire upon their heads, but their haire hangs disheaveled about their eares: and there be many other strange things also. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars overran and wasted. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the most part, whereof 42. li. are there sold for lesse then a groat. I passed further also many dayes journey unto the Ocean sea, and the first land where I arrived, is called *Ormes, being well fortified, and having great store of marchandize and treasure therein. Such and so extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the privities of men come out of their bodies and hang downe even unto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitants of the same place, to preserve their owne lives, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their privie members therewith, do lap them up in certaine bags fastened unto their bodies, for otherwise they must needs die. Here also they use a kinde of Bark or shippe called Jase being compact together onely

The tower of Babel.

[II. i. 55.]

Ormus.

with hempe. And I went on bourd into one of them, wherein I could not finde any yron at all, and in the space of 28. dayes I arrived at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our Friers were martyred for the faith of Christ. This countrey is well situate, having abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and under the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battel with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worshipping fire, serpents and trees. And over all this land the Saracens do beare rule, who tooke it by maine force, and they themselves are in subjection unto king Daldilus. There be divers kinds of beasts, as namely blacke lyons in great abundance, and apes also, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doves. Also there are mise as bigge as our countrey dogs, and therefore they are hunted with dogs, because cats are not able to incounter them. Moreover, in the same countrey every man hath a bundle of great boughs standing in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a piller, and it will not wither, so long as water is applied thereunto: with many other novelties and strange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Thana, whereof Frederick Cæsar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

MOreover, that it may be manifest how peper is had, it is to be understood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my selfe arrived, being called * Minibar, and it is not so plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes conteineth in circuit 18. dayes journey. And in the said wood or forrest there are two cities, one called * Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Jewes and Christians doe inhabite, betweene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Christians overcome the Jewes at all times. In the foresaid wood pepper is had after this maner: first it groweth in leaves like unto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere unto great trees

Malabar.

Or, Alandrina.

as we do our vines, and they bring forth pepper in clusters, as our vines doe yeeld grapes, but being ripe, they are of a greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes, and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen vessels: and thus is pepper made and kept. Now, in the same wood there be many rivers, wherein are great store of Crocodiles, and of other serpents, which the inhabitants thereabout do burne up with straw and with other dry fewel, and so they go to gather their pepper without danger. At the South end of the said forrest stands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. *Polumbrum.* All the inhabitants of that countrey do worship a living oxe, as their god, whom they put to labour for sixe yeres, and in the seventh yere they cause him to rest from al his worke, placing him in a solemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beast. Moreover they use this foolish ceremonie: Every morning they take two basons, either of silver, or of gold, and with one they receive the urine of the oxe, and with the other his dung. With the urine they wash their face, their eyes, and all their five senses. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they annoint the bals of their cheeks therewith, and thirdly their breast: and then they say that they are sanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, even so doe their King and Queene. This people worshippeth also a dead idole, which, from the navel upward, resembleth a man, and from the navel downeward an oxe. The very same Idol delivers oracles unto them, and sometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes unto their idols, even as Christians do their children unto some Religion or Saint in heaven. Likewise they sacrifice their sonnes and their daughters, and so, much people is put to death before the said Idol by reason of that accursed ceremony. Also, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutish beastly people commit: and I sawe many

moe strange things among them which I meane not here to insert. Another most vile custome the foresaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corps to ashes: and if his wife surviveth him, her they burne quicke, because (say they) she shall accompany her husband in his tilthe and husbandry, when he is come into a new world. Howbeit the said wife having children by her husband, may if she will, remaine still alive with them, without shame or reproch: notwithstanding, for the most part, they all of them make choice to be burnt w^t^ their husbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth before her husband, that law bindeth not the husband to any such inconvenience, but he may mary another wife also. Likewise, ye said nation hath another strange custome, in that their women drink wine, but their men do not. Also the women have the lids & brows of their eyes & beards shaven, but the men have not: with many other base & filthy fashions which the said women do use contrary to the nature of their sexe. From that kingdom I traveiled 10. daies journey unto another kingdome called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the same countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle is interred, the very same church being full of idols: and in 15. houses round about the said Church, there dwell certaine priests who are Nestorians, that is to say, false, and bad Christians, and schismatiques.

The burning of their dead.

[II. i. 56.]

Mobar, or Maliapor.

Of a strange and uncouth idole: and of certaine customes and ceremonies.

IN the said kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull strang idole, being made after the shape and resemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Christopher, & consisting all of most pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a silke riband, ful of most rich & precious stones, some one of which is of more value then a whole kingdome. The house of this idol is all of beaten gold, namely the roofe, the pave-

ment, and the sieling of the wall within and without. Unto this idol the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do unto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, some with their hands bound behind them, some other with knives sticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the flesh of their wounded arme festereth or corrupteth, they esteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleased with them. Neare unto the temple of that idol is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, whereinto the pilgrimes cast gold, silver, & precious stones, for the honour of the idol and the repairing of his temple. And therfore when any thing is to be adorned or mended, they go unto this lake taking up the treasure which was cast in. Moreover at every yerely feast of the making or repairing of the said idol, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrimes assemble themselves, & placing the said idol in a most stately & rich chariot, they cary him out of their temple with songs, & with all kind of musical harmonie, & a great company of virgins go procession-wise two and two in a rank singing before him. Many pilgrims also put themselves under the chariot wheeles, to the end that their false god may go over them: and al they over whom the chariot runneth, are crushed in pieces, & divided asunder in the midst, and slaine right out. Yea, & in doing this, they think themselves to die most holily & securely, in the service of their god. And by this meanes every yere, there die under the said filthy idol, mo then 500. persons, whose carkases are burned, and their ashes are kept for reliques, because they died in that sort for their god. Moreover they have another detestable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the service of his false god, his parents, & all his friends assemble themselves together with a consort of musicians, making him a great & solemne feast: which feast being ended, they hang 5. sharpe knives about his neck carying him before the idol, & so soone as he is come thither, he

taketh one of his knives crying with a loud voice, For the worship of my god do I cut this my flesh, and then he casteth the morsel which is cut, at ye face of his idol: but at the very last wound wherewith he murthereth himselfe, he utterth these words: Now do I yeeld my self to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, & is esteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the said region is most rich in gold, silver, and precious stones, & there be the fairest unions in al the world. Traveling from thence by the Ocean sea 50. daies journey southward, I came unto a certain land named Lammori, where, in regard of extreeme heat, the people both men and women go stark-naked from top to toe: who seeing me apparelled scoffed at me, saying, that God made Adam & Eve naked. In this countrey al women are common, so that no man can say, this is my wife. Also when any of the said women beareth a son or a daughter, she bestowes it upon any one that hath lien with her, whom she pleaseth. Likewise al the land of that region is possessed in common, so that there is not mine & thine, or any propriety of possession in the division of lands: howbeit every man hath his owne house peculiar unto himselfe. Mans flesh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our country. And albeit the people are most lewd, yet the country is exceeding good, abounding with al commodities, as flesh, corne, rise, silver, gold, wood of aloes, Campheir, and many other things. Marchants comming unto this region for traffique do usually bring w^t^ them fat men, selling them unto the inhabitants as we sel hogs, who immediatly kil & eat them. In this island towards the south, there is another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke themselves with red-hot yron in 12. sundry spots of their faces: and this nation is at continual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traveled further unto another island called Java, the compasse whereof by sea is 3000. miles. The king of this Iland hath 7. other crowned

Perhaps he meaneth Comori.

Sumatra.

Java.

[II. i. 57.]

kings under his jurisdiction. The said Iland is throughly inhabited, & is thought to be one of the principall Ilands of ye whole world. In the same Iland there groweth great plenty of cloves, cubibez, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of spices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the said land of Java hath a most brave and sumptuous pallace, the most loftily built, that ever I saw any, & it hath most high greeses & stayers to ascend up to the roomes therin contained, one stayre being of silver, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Also the lower roomes were paved all over with one square plate of silver, & another of gold. All the wals upon the inner side were seeled over with plates of beaten gold, wherupon were ingraven ye pictures of knights, having about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adorned with precious stones. The roofe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Java the great Can of Catay hath had many conflictes in war: whom notwithstanding the said king hath alwayes overcome & vanquished.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyson.

NEere unto the said Iland is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamasin. And the king of the same country hath many Ilands under his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the most deadly poison in all ye whole world: for against it there is but one only remedy: & that is this: if any man hath taken of ye poyson, & would be delivered from the danger therof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & so drinke a good quantitie thereof, & it expels the poyson immediatly, making it to avoid at the fundement. Meale is produced out of the said trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there issueth out of the stocke a certain licour like unto gumme, which they take

and put into bags made of leaves, laying them for 15 daies together abroad in the sun, & at the end of those 15 dayes, when the said licour is throughly parched, it becommeth meale. Then they steepe it first in sea water, washing it afterward with fresh water, and so it is made very good & savorie paste, wherof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my selfe did eate, & it is fayrer without & somewhat browne within. By this countrey is the sea called Mare mortuum, which runneth continually Southward, into ye which whosoever falleth is never seene after. In this countrey also are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be also called Cassan, which overspread the earth like grasse, & out of every knot of them spring foorth certaine branches, which are continued upon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the sayd canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones, whosoever carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the most part, carry such stones with them, whithersoever they goe. Many also cause one of the armes of their children, while they are yong, to be launced, putting one of the said stones into the wound, healing also, and closing up the said wound with the powder of a certaine fish (the name whereof I do not know) which powder doth immediatly consolidate and cure the said wound. And by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of stratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the sayd stones, doe practise against them: namely, they provide themselves armour of yron or steele against their arrowes, & weapons also poisoned with the poyson of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden stakes most sharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: likewise they shoot arrowes without yron heads, and so they confound & slay some of their un-

A sea running still Southward.

armed foes trusting too securely unto the vertue of their stones. Also of the foresayd canes called Cassan they make sayles for their ships, and litle houses, and many other necessaries. From thence after many dayes travell, I arrived at another kingdome called Campa, a most beautiful and rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king wherof, at my being there, had so many wives & concubines, that he had 300 sonnes & daughters by them. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept even as we keepe droves of oxen, or flocks of sheepe in pasture.

Sayles made of reedes.

Campa.

Of the abundance of fishes, which cast themselves upon the shore.

IN this countrey there is one strange thing to be observed, y^t^ every several kind of fishes in those seas come swimming towards the said countrey in such abundance, that, for a great distance into the sea, nothing can be seene but ye backs of fishes: which, casting themselves upon the shore when they come neere unto it, do suffer men, for the space of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of them as they please, & then they returne againe unto the sea. After that kind of fishes comes another kind, offering it selfe after the same maner, and so in like sort all other kinds whatsoever: notwithstanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what meanes this strange accident could come to passe? They answered, that fishes were taught, even by nature, to come & to do homage unto their Emperour. There be Tortoises also as bigge as an oven. Many other things I saw which are incredible, unlesse a man should see them with his own eies. In this country also dead men are burned, & their wives are burned alive with them, as in the city of Polumbrum above mentioned: for the men of that country say that she goeth to accompany him in another world, that he should take none other wife in mariage. Moreover I traveled on

Tortoises.

[II. i. 58.]

further by the ocean-sea towards the south, & passed through many countries and islands, wherof one is *Moumoran.* called Moumoran, & it containeth in compasse ii. M. miles, wherin men & women have dogs faces, and worship an oxe for their god: and therefore every one of them cary the image of an oxe of gold or silver upon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, saving that they hang a linen cloth before their privities. The men of the said country are very tall and mighty, and by reason that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they cary yron or steele-targets before them, which do cover and defend their bodies from top to toe: and whomsoever of their foes they take in battel not being able to ransom himselfe for money, they presently devoure him: but if he be able to redeeme himselfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and most beautifull unions, and saith every day 300. prayers unto his god. He weareth upon his finger also a stone of a span long, which seemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approch unto him: and they say that there is not any stone in the whole world of more value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie obtaine it at his hands: notwithstanding that he hath done the utmost of his indevour for this purpose.

Of the island of Sylan: and of the mountaine where Adam mourned for his sonne Abel.

I Passed also by another island called Sylan, which conteineth in compasse above ii. M. miles: wherin are an infinit number of serpents, & great store of lions, beares, & al kinds of ravening & wild beasts, and especially of elephants. In the said country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that region do report that Adam mourned for his son Abel ye space of 500. yeres. In the midst of this mountain

there is a most beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake conteining great plenty of water, which water ye inhabitants report to have proceeded from the teares of Adam & Eve: howbeit I proved that to be false, because I saw the water flow in the lake. This water is ful of hors-leeches, & blood-suckers, & of precious stones also: which precious stones the king taketh not unto his owne use, but once or twise every yere he permitteth certaine poore people to dive under the water for ye said stones, & al that they can get he bestoweth upon them, to the end they may pray for his soule. But y^t^ they may with lesse danger dive under the water, they take limons which they pil, anointing themselves throughly with the juice therof, & so they may dive naked under ye water, the hors-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth even unto the sea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other pretious stones out of the shore: wherupon it is thought, that ye king of this island hath greater abundance of pretious stones, then any other monarch in the whole earth besids. In the said country there be al kinds of beasts and foules: & the people told me, that those beasts would not invade nor hurt any stranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I saw in this island fouls as big as our country geese, having two heads, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Traveling on further toward the south, I arrived at a certain island called Bodin, which signifieth in our language unclean. In this island there do inhabit most wicked persons, who devour & eat raw flesh committing al kinds of uncleannes & abominations in such sort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his son, & the son his father, the husband his owne wife, & the wife her husband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be sick, the son straight goes unto the sooth-saying or prognosticating priest, requesting him to demand of his god, whether his father shall recover of that infirmity or no? Then both of them

Or, Dadin.

go unto an idol of gold or of silver, making their praiers unto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our god, & thee we do adore, beseeching thee to resolve us, whether such a man must die, or recover of such an infirmity or no? Then the divel answereth out of ye foresaid idol: if he saith (he shal live) then returneth his son and ministreth things necessary unto him, til he hath attained unto his former health: but if he saith (he shal die) then goes ye priest unto him, & putting a cloth into his mouth doth strangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morsels, & al his friends and kinsfolks are invited unto the eating thereof, with musique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are solemnely buried. And when I found fault with that custome demanding a reason thereof, one of them gave me this answere: this we doe, least the wormes should eat his flesh, for then his soule should suffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remoove them from that errour. Many other novelties and strange things there bee in this countrey, which no man would credite, unles he saw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty [II. i. 59.] God) do here make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as sure, as a man may be sure. Concerning the foresaid islands I inquired of divers wel-experienced persons, who al of them, as it were with one consent, answered me saying, That this India contained 4400. islands under it, or within it: in which islands there are sixtie and foure crowned kings: and they say moreover, that the greater part of those islands are wel inhabited. And here I conclude concerning that part of India.

Or, China.

Of the upper India: and of the province of Mancy.

FIrst of al therefore, having traveled many dayes journey upon the Ocean-sea toward the East, at length I arrived at a certaine great province called

Mancy, being in Latine named India. Concerning this India I inquired of Christians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of al such as bare any office under the great Can. Who all of them with one consent answered, that this province of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, rise, flesh, and fish. All the men of this province be artificers & marchants, who, though they be in never so extreme penurie, so long as they can helpe themselves by the labor of their hands, wil never beg almes of any man. The men of this province are of a faire and comely personage, but somewhat pale, having their heads shaven but a litle: but the women are the most beautiful under the sunne. The first city of ye said India which I came unto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies journey distant from the sea, stands upon a river, the water whereof, nere unto the mouth, where it exonerateth it selfe into the sea, doth overflow the land for the space of 12. daies journey. All the inhabitants of this India are worshippers of idols. The foresaid city of Ceuskalon hath such an huge navy belonging thereunto, that no man would beleeve it unlesse he should see it. In this city I saw 300.li. of good & new ginger sold for lesse then a groat. There are the greatest, and the fairest geese, & most plenty of them to be sold in al the whole world, as I suppose: they are as white as milke, and have a bone upon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: under their throat they have a skin or bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat & wel sold. Also they have ducks and hens in that country, one as big as two of ours. There be monstrous great serpents likewise, which are taken by the inhabitants & eaten: whereupon a solemne feast among them without serpents is nought set by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I passed by many cities & at length I came unto a city

Or, Ceuskala.

He meaneth Pellicans, which the Spaniards cal Alcatrarzi.

Or, Zaiton. named Caitan, wherin ye friers Minorites have two places of aboad, unto the which I transported the bones of the dead friers, which suffred martyrdom for the faith of Christ, as it is above mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The said city is as big as two of Bononia, & in it are many monasteries of religious persons, al which do worship idols. I my selfe was in one of those Monasteries, & it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, having xi. M. idols: and one of ye said idols which seemed unto me but litle in regard of the rest, was as big as our Christopher. These religious men every day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed those things which they brought unto them were good to eat, & fuming hote, insomuch that the steame of the smoke thereof ascended up unto their idols, & they said that their gods were refreshed with the smoke: howbeit all the meat they conveyed away, eating it up their owne selves, and so they fed their dumb gods with the smoke onely.

Of the citie Fuco.

TRaveling more eastward, I came unto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great & faire cocks, and al their hens are as white as the very snow, having wol in stead of feathers, like unto sheep. It is a most stately & beautiful city & standeth upon the sea. Then I went 18. daies journey on further, & passed by many provinces & cities, and in the way I went over a certain great mountaine, upon ye one side whereof I beheld al living creatures to be as black as a cole, & the men and women on that side differed somwhat in maner of living from others: howbeit, on the other side of the said hil every living thing was snow-white, & the inhabitants in their maner of living, were altogether unlike unto others. There, all maried women cary in token that they have husbands, a great trunke of horne upon their heads. From thence I

traveiled 18. dayes journey further, and came unto a certaine great river, and entered also into a city, whereunto belongeth a mighty bridge to passe the said river. *A great river.* And mine hoste with whom I sojourned, being desirous to shew me some sport, said unto me: Sir, if you will see any fish taken, goe with me. Then hee led me unto the foresaid bridge, carying in his armes with him certaine dive-doppers or water-foules, bound unto a company of poles, and about every one of their necks he tied a threed, least they should eat the fish as fast as they tooke them: and he caried 3. great baskets with him also: then loosed he the dive-doppers from the poles, which presently went into the water, & within lesse then the space of one houre, caught as many fishes as filled the 3. baskets: which being full, mine hoste untyed the threeds [II. i. 60.] from about their neckes, and entering the second time into the river they fed themselves with fish, and being satisfied they returned and suffered themselves to be bound unto the saide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of those fishes, me thought they were exceeding good. Travailing thence many dayes journeys, at length I arrived at another city called *Canasia, which signifieth in our language, the city of heaven. Never in all my life did I see so great a citie; for it conteineth in circuit an hundreth miles: neither sawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughly inhabited: yea, I sawe many houses of tenne or twelve stories high, one above another. It hath mightie large suburbs containing more people then the citie it selfe. Also it hath twelve principall gates: and about the distance of eight miles, in the high way unto every one of the saide gates standeth a city as big by estimation as Venice, and Padua. The foresaid city of Canasia is situated in waters or marshes, which alwayes stand still neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like unto Venice. In this citie there are mo then 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and passed over them: and upon every of those bridges stand certaine watch-

Foules catching fish.

Or Cansai, or Quinzai.

The Italian copy in Ramusius, hath 11000. bridges.

men of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the said city, for the great Can the Emperour of Catay. The people of this countrey say, that they have one duetie injoyned unto them by their lord: for every fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is five papers or pieces of silke, which are worth one floren and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelve housholds are accompted for one fire, and so pay tribute but for one fire onely. Al those tributary fires amount unto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in al; And one Thuman consisteth 10000. fires. The residue of the people of the city are some of them Christians, some marchants, and some traveilers through the countrey: whereupon I marveiled much howe such an infinite number of persons could inhabite and live together. There is great abundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and especially of hogs-flesh, with other necessaries.

Of a Monastery where many strange beastes of divers kindes doe live upon an hill.

IN the foresaide citie foure of our friers had converted a mighty and riche man unto the faith of Christ, at whose house I continually abode, for so long time as I remained in the citie. Who upon a certaine time saide unto me: Ara, that is to say, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie? And I said, yea. Then embarqued we our selves, and directed our course unto a certaine great Monastery: where being arrived, he called a religious person with whom he was acquainted, saying unto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to say, this religious Frenchman commeth from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleth to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you must shew him some rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may say, this strange sight or novelty have I seene in the city of Canasia. Then the said religious man tooke two great

baskets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me unto a little walled parke, the doore whereof he unlocked with his key, and there appeared unto us a pleasant faire greene plot, into the which we entred. In the said greene stands a litle mount in forme of a steeple, replenished with fragrant herbes, and fine shady trees. And while we stood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they use to ring to dinner or bevoir in cloisters, at the sound whereof many creatures of divers kinds came downe from the mount, some like apes, some like cats, some like monkeys; and some having faces like men. And while I stood beholding of them, they gathered themselves together about him, to the number of 4200. of those creatures, putting themselves in good order, before whom he set a platter, and gave them the said fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang upon his cymbal the second time, and they al returned unto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures those might be? They are (quoth he) the soules of noble men which we do here feed, for the love of God who governeth the world: and as a man was honorable or noble in this life, so his soule after death, entreth into the body of some excellent beast or other, but the soules of simple and rusticall people do possesse the bodies of more vile and brutish creatures. Then I began to refute that foule error: howbeit my speach did nothing at all prevaile with him: for hee could not be perswaded that any soule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed unto a certaine citie named Chilenso, the walls whereof conteined 40. miles in cir- *Chilenso.* cuit. In this city there are 360. bridges of stone, the fairest that ever I saw: and it is wel inhabited, having a great navie belonging thereunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went unto a certaine river called Thalay, which, where it *Thalay.* is most narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midst of the land of Pygmæi, whose chiefe city is

Cakam. called Cakam, and is one of the goodliest cities in the
[II. i. 61.] world. These Pigmæans are three of my spans high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and silke, then any other nation under the sunne. And coasting along by the saide river, I came unto a certaine citie
Janzu. named Janzu, in which citie there is one receptacle for the Friers of our order, and there be also three Churches of the Nestorians. This Janzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fiers, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of such beastes, foules and fishes, as Christians doe usually live upon. The lord of the same citie hath in yeerely revenues for salt onely, fiftie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: insomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth unto the value of fifteene thousand florens. Howbeit the sayd lord favoureth his people in one respect, for sometimes he forgiveth them freely two hundred Thuman, least there should be any scarcity or dearth among them. There is a custome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about unto certaine tavernes or cookes houses appointed for the same purpose, he sayth unto every particular hoste, you shall have such, and such of my friendes, whom you must intertaine in my name, and so much I will bestowe upon the banquet. And by that meanes his friendes are better feasted at diverse places, then they should have beene at one. Tenne miles from the sayde citie, about the head of the foresayd river of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greatest navy that I saw in the whole world. All their ships are as white as snow, and they have banqueting houses in them, and many other rare things also, which no man would beleeve, unlesse he had seene them with his owne eyes.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

TRaveiling eight dayes journey further by divers territories and cities, at length I came by fresh water unto a certaine citie named Leneyn, standing upon the river of *Karavoran, which runneth through the midst of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it overfloweth the bankes, or breaketh foorth of the chanell. From thence passing along the river Eastward, after many dayes travell, and the sight of divers cities, I arrived at a citie called *Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with silke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great scarcitie of silke, fortie pound is sold for lesse then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals also, as of bread, wine, flesh, fish, with all choise and delicate spices. Then traveiling on still towards the East by many cities, I came unto the noble and renowmed citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being situate in the province of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neere unto it within the space of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelve gates, being each of them two miles distant from another. Also the space lying in the midst betweene the two foresayd cities is very well and throughly inhabited, so that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compasse or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall seat, and his Imperiall palace, the wals of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere unto this his palace are many other palaces and houses of his nobles which belong unto his court. Within the precincts of the sayd palace Imperiall, there is a most beautifull mount, set and replenished with trees, for which cause it is called the Greene mount, having a most royall and sumptuous palace standing thereupon, in which, for the most part, the great Can is resident. Upon the one side of the

Karamoron.

Sumacoto.

sayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a most stately bridge is built, in which lake is great abundance of geese, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing upon the mount there is great store of all birds, and wilde beasts. And therefore when the great Can will solace himselfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not so much as once to step forth of his palace. Moreover, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, having within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red skinnes, which are sayd to be the most costly skinnes in all the world. In the midst of the palace standes a cisterne of two yards high, which consisteth of a pretious stone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, & at ech corner thereof is the golden image of a serpent, as it were, furiously shaking and casting forth his head. This cisterne also hath a kind of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewise by the sayd cisterne there is drinke conveyed thorow certeine pipes and conducts, such as useth to be drunke in the emperors court, upon the which also there hang many vessels of golde, wherein, whosoever will may drinke of the sayd licour. In the foresayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: & when any Tartar maketh a banquet unto his lord, if the guests chance to clap their hands for joy and mirth, the sayd golden peacocks also will spread abroad their wings, and lift up their traines, seeming as if they danced: and this I suppose to be done by arte magike or by some secret engine under the ground.

[II. i. 62.] Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

MOreover, when the great emperor Can sitteth in his imperiall throne of estate, on his left hand sitteth his queene or empresse, and upon another inferior seate there sit two other women, which are to accompany the emperor, when his spouse is absent, but in the lowest place of all, there sit all the ladies of his kinred. All the maried women weare upon their heads a kind of orna-

ment in shape like unto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the sayd foote is adorned with cranes feathers, and is all over thicke set with great and orient pearles. Upon the right hand of the great Can sitteth his first begotten sonne and heire apparant unto his empire, and under him sit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee also foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperor speaketh. In whose presence likewise stand his Barons and divers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare speake so much as one word, unlesse they have obtained licence of the emperor so to doe, except his jesters and stage-players, who are appointed of purpose to solace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleasure of their emperor, and as hee enjoineth them by lawe. About the palace gate stand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading upon the threshold of the sayd gate. When it pleaseth the great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14000. Barons, carying wreathes & litle crownes upon their heads, and giving attendance upon their lord, and every one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is woorth ten thousand Florens. His court is kept in very good order, by governours of tens, governours of hundreds, and governours of thousands, insomuch that every one in his place performeth his duetie committed unto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there present in person for the space of three yeeres, and was often at the sayd banquets; for we friers Minorites have a place of aboad appointed out for us in the emperors court, and are enjoined to goe and to bestow our blessing upon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of persons pertaining to the emperors court? And they answered mee, that of stage-players, musicians, and such like, there were eighteene Thuman at the least, and that the keepers of dogs, beasts and foules were

fifteene Thuman, and the physicians for the emperours body, were foure hundred; the Christians also were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foresayd number of persons had all kind of necessaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperors court. Moreover, when he will make his progresse from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horsemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes journey before, and another to come a dayes journey after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the maner of a crosse, he himselfe being in the midst, and so every particular troupe have their daily journeys limited unto them, to the ende they may provide sufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himselfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, upon which a majesticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adorned with gold and great pearles, and precious stones, and foure elephants bravely furnished doe drawe the sayd chariot, before which elephants foure great horses richly trapped and covered doe lead the way. Hard by the chariot on both sides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all persons from approching neere unto their emperour. Upon the chariot also two milke-white Jer-falcons doe sit, and seeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and so they take it, and after this maner doeth hee solace himselfe as hee rideth. Moreover, no man dare come within a stones cast of the chariot, but such as are appointed. The number of his owne followers, of his wives attendants, and of the traine of his first begotten sonne and heire apparant, would seeme incredible unto any man, unlesse hee had seene it with his owne eyes. The foresayd great Can hath devided his Empire into twelve partes or Provinces, and one of the sayd provinces hath two thousand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that unto whatsoever part thereof he

intendeth his journy, he hath space enough for six moneths continual progresse, except his Islands which are at the least 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hospitals appointed for travailers throughout the whole empire.

THe foresayd Emperor (to the end that travailers may have all things necessary throughout his whole empire) hath caused certaine Innes to be provided in sundry places upon the high wayes, where all things pertaining unto victuals are in a continuall readinesse. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre absent from that part, his ambassadors upon horses or dromedaries ride post unto him, and when themselves and their beasts are weary, they blow their horne, at the noise whereof, the next Inne likewise provideth a horse and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary, and runneth unto another Inne: and so by divers Innes, and divers postes, the report, which ordinarily could skarce come in 30. days, is in one naturall day brought unto the emperor: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but straightway he hath intelligence thereof. Moreover, when ye great Can himselfe will go on hunting, he useth this custome. Some twenty dayes journey from the citie of Kambaleth there is a forrest containing sixe dayes journey in circuit, in which forrest there are so many kinds of beasts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Unto this forrest, at the ende of every third or fourth yeere, himselfe with his whole traine resorteth, and they all of them together environ the sayd forrest, sending dogs into the same, which by hunting do bring foorth the beasts: namely, lions and stags, and other creatures, unto a most beautifull plaine in the midst of the forrest, because all the beasts of the forrest doe tremble, especially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himselfe, being caried upon three elephants, and shooteth five [II. i. 63.]

arrowes into the whole herd of beasts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the rest of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner discharge their arrowes also, and every mans arrow hath a sundry marke. Then they all goe unto the beasts which are slaine (suffering the living beasts to returne into the wood that they may have more sport with them another time) and every man enjoyeth that beast as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow sticking.

Of the foure feasts which the great Can solemnizeth every yeere in his Court.

FOure great feasts in a yeere doeth the emperor Can celebrate: namely, the feast of his birth, the feast of his circumcision, the feast of his coronation, and the feast of his mariage. And unto these feasts he inviteth all his Barons, his stage-players, and all such as are of his kinred. Then the great Can sitting in his throne, all his Barons present themselves before him, with wreaths and crownes upon their heads, being diversly attired, for some of them are in greene, namely, the principall: the second are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Ivorie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they stand upon their feete keeping silence. About them stand the stage-players or musicians with their instruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philosophers or Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend upon points or characters: and when the point and hower which the sayd Philosophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, saying, Incline or bowe your selves before your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat upon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Arise all, and immediately they all arise. Likewise the Philosophers attend upon a point or character the second time, and when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out amaine; Put

your fingers in your eares: and foorthwith againe he saieth; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumstances also doe they performe, all which they say have some certaine signification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor give any heed unto them, because they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the musicians hower is come, then the Philosophers say, Solemnize a feast unto your Lord: with that all of them sound their instruments, making a great and a melodious noyse. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whist. Then come the women-musicians and sing sweetly before the Emperour, which musike was more delightfull unto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeisance unto the great Can. Then the juglers cause golden cups full of wine to flie up and downe in the ayre, and to apply themselves unto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. These and many other strange things I sawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would beleeve unlesse he had seen them with his owne eies, and therefore I omit to speake of them. I was informed also by certaine credible persons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the sayd Can, wherein stand the mountains called Kapsei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there growe great Gourds or Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beast like unto a yong lambe, even as I my selfe have heard reported, that there stand certaine trees upon the shore of the Irish sea, bearing fruit like unto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is most true.

A lambe in a gourd.

Of divers provinces and cities.

His returne Westward.

AND after three yeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, travailing fiftie dayes journey towards the West. And at length I came unto the empire of

[II. i. 64.] Pretegoani, whose principall citie is Kosan, which hath many other cities under it. From thence passing many dayes travell, I came unto a province called Casan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely provinces under the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, insomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my selfe saw in divers of them. The breadth of the sayd province is fifty dayes journey, & the length above sixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and especially of chesnuts, and it is one of the twelve provinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came unto a certaine kingdome called ‖ Tebek, which is in subjection unto the great Can also, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread & wine then in any other part of the world besides. The people of the sayd countrey do, for the most part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall city is invironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of most white and blacke stones, which are disposed checkerwise one by another, and curiously compiled together : likewise all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paved. In the sayd countrey none dare shed the bloud of a man, or of any beast, for the reverence of a certaine idole. In the foresayd city their Abassi, that is to say, their Pope is resident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (upon whom he bestoweth and distributeth gifts after his maner) even as our pope of Rome accounts himselfe to be the head of all Christians. The women of this countrey weare above an hundreth tricks and trifles about them, and they have two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tushes of a boare. When any mans father deceaseth among them, his sonne assembleth together all the priests and musicians that he can get, saying that he is determined to honour his father : then causeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinsfolks, friends, and neighbours, accompanying him in the sayd action) where the priests with great solemnity cut

Casan.

‖ *Or, Thebet.*

off the fathers head, giving it unto his sonne, which being done, they divide the whole body into morsels, and so leave it behinde them, returning home with prayers in the company of the sayd sonne. So soone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accustomed to such bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and cary away all the sayd morsels of flesh: and from thenceforth a fame is spread abroad, that the sayd party deceased was holy, because the angels of God carried him into paradise. And this is the greatest and highest honour, that the sonne can devise to performe unto his deceased father. Then the sayd sonne taketh his fathers head, seething it and eating the flesh thereof, but of the skull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himselfe with all his family and kinred do drinke with great solemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and devoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doth the sayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, because men neither can nor will beleeve, except they should have the sight of them.

The same story concerning the very same people is in William de Rubricis.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nourished by fiftie virgins.

WHile I was in the province of Mancy, I passed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damosels continually attending upon him, feeding him every meale, as a bird feeds her yoong ones. Also he hath sundry kindes of meat served in at his table, and three dishes of ech kinde: and when the sayd virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly. This man hath in yeerely revenues thirty thuman of tagars of rise, every of which thuman yeeldeth tenne thousand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an asse. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pavement whereof is one plate of golde, and another of silver. Neere unto the wall of the sayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and silver, whereupon stand turrets and steeples and other delectable things for the solace

and recreation of the foresayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure such men in the sayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men *Long nailes.* of that countrey to have long nailes upon their fingers, and especially upon their thumbes, which nailes they may folde about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to have small and slender feet: and therefore the mothers when their daughters are yoong, do binde up their feet, that they may not grow great. Travelling on further towards the South, I arrived at a *Melistorte.* certaine countrey called Melistorte, which is a pleasant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certeine aged man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to inclose the sayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the fairest and most chrystall fountaines in the whole world: and about the sayd fountaines there were most beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly horses also, and in a word, every thing that could be devised for bodily solace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the same place by the name of Paradise.

The sayd olde Senex, when he saw any proper and valiant yoong man, he would admit him into his paradise. Moreover by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke [II. i. 65.] to flow abundantly. This Senex, when he hath a minde to revenge himselfe or to slay any king or baron, commandeth him that is governor of the sayd paradise, to bring thereunto some of the acquaintance of the sayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleasure therein, and then to give him a certaine potion being of force, to cast him into such a slumber as should make him quite voide of all sense, and so being in a profound sleepe to convey him out of his paradise: who being awaked, & seeing himselfe thrust out of the paradise would become so sorowfull, that he could not in the world devise what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he go unto the foresaid old man, beseeching him that he might be admitted againe into

his paradise: who saith unto him, You cannot be admitted thither, unlesse you will slay such or such a man for my sake, and if you will give the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I wil place you againe in paradise, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the same in execution, indevouring to murther all those against whom the sayd olde man had conceived any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the east stood in awe of the sayd olde man, and gave unto him great tribute.

Of the death of Senex de monte.

AND when the Tartars had subdued a great part of the world, they came unto the sayd olde man, and tooke from him the custody of his paradise: who being incensed thereat, sent abroad divers desperate and resolute persons out of his forenamed paradise, and caused many of the Tartarian nobles to be slaine. The Tartars seeing this, went and besieged the city wherein the said olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a most cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place have this speciall gift and prerogative: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Christ Jesu, and in the vertue of his pretious bloud, which he shedde upon the crosse for the salvation of mankinde, they doe cast foorth devils out of them that are possessed. And because there are many possessed men in those parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes journey unto the sayd friers, who being dispossessed of the uncleane spirits, do presently beleeve in Christ who delivered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptised in his name, and also delivering immediatly unto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the sayd friers kindle a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people resort, that they may see the false gods of their neighbors burnt) and cast the sayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the first those idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers sprinkled

the sayd fire with holy water, casting the idols into it the second time, and with that the devils fled in the likenesse of blacke smoake, and the idols still remained till they were consumed unto ashes. Afterward, this noise & outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and see how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by these meanes the friers doe baptise great multitudes, who presently revolt againe unto their idols: insomuch that the sayd friers must eftsoones, as it were, underprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I saw there: for passing by a certaine valley, which is situate beside a pleasant river, I saw many dead bodies, and in the sayd valley also I heard divers sweet sounds and harmonies of musike, especially the noise of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley conteineth in length seven or eight miles at the least, into the which whosoever entreth, dieth presently, and can by no meanes passe alive thorow the middest thereof: for which cause all the inhabitants thereabout decline unto the one side. Moreover, I was tempted to go in, and to see what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my selfe to God in the name of Jesu, I entred, and saw such swarmes of dead bodies there, as no man would beleeve unlesse he were an eye witnesse thereof. At the one side of the foresayd valley upon a certaine stone, I saw the visage of a man, which beheld me with such a terrible aspect, that I thought verily I should have died in the same place. But alwayes this sentence, the word became flesh, and dwelt amongst us, I ceased not to pronounce, signing my selfe with the signe of the crosse, and neerer then seven or eight pases I durst not approch unto the said head: but I departed & fled unto another place in the sayd valley, ascending up into a little sandy mountaine, where looking round about, I saw nothing but the sayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculously sounding and playing by themselves without the helpe of musicians. And being upon the toppe of the mountaine, I found

silver there like the scales of fishes in great abundance: and I gathered some part thereof into my bosome to shew for a wonder, but my conscience rebuking me, I cast it upon the earth, reserving no whit at all unto my selfe, and so, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley alive, they reverenced me much, saying that I was baptised and holy, and that the foresayd bodies were men subject unto the devils infernall, who used to play upon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and so murther them. Thus much concerning those things which I beheld most certainely with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus have heere written: many strange things also I have of purpose [II. i. 66.] omitted, because men will not beleeve them unlesse they should see them.

Of the honour and reverence done unto the great Can.

I Will report one thing more, which I saw, concerning the great Can. It is an usuall custome in those parts, that when the forsayd Can travelleth thorow any countrey, his subjects kindle fires before their doores, casting spices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord passing by may smell the sweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come foorth to meet him. And upon a certaine time when he was comming towardes Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being published, a bishop of ours with certaine of our minorite friers and my selfe, went two dayes journey to meet him: and being come nigh unto him, we put a crosse upon wood, I my selfe having a censer in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice: Veni creator spiritus. And as we were singing on this wise, he caused us to be called, commanding us to come unto him: notwithstanding (as it is above mentioned) that no man dare approch within a stones cast of his chariot, unlesse he be called, but such onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came

neere unto him, he vailed his hat or bonet being of an inestimable price, doing reverence unto the crosse. And immediatly I put incense into the censer, and our bishop taking the censer perfumed him, and gave him his benediction. Moreover, they that come before the sayd Can do alwayes bring some oblation to present unto him, observing the ancient law: Thou shalt not appeare in my presence with an empty hand. And for that cause we carried apples with us, and offered them in a platter with reverence unto him: and taking out two of them he did eat some part of one. And then he signified unto us, that we should go apart, least the horses comming on might in ought offend us. With that we departed from him, and turned aside, going unto certaine of his barons, which had bene converted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the same time in his army: and we offered unto them of the foresayd apples, who received them at our hands with great joy, seeming unto us to be as glad, as if we had given them some great gift.

All the premisses abovewritten frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing even as the foresayd frier Odoricus uttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330, in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent stile, but even as Odoricus himselfe rehearsed them, to the end that men might the more easily understand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territory called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minorites, do testifie and beare witnesse unto the reverend father Guidotus minister of the province of S. Anthony, in the marquesate of Treviso (being by him required upon mine obedience so to doe) that all the premisses above written, either I saw with mine owne eyes, or heard the same reported by credible and substantiall persons. The

common report also of the countreyes where I was, testifieth those things, which I saw, to be true. Many other things I have omitted, because I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpose with my selfe to travell countreyes or lands, in which action I dispose my selfe to die or to live, as it shall please my God.

Of the death of frier Odoricus.

IN the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foresayd frier Odoricus preparing himselfe for the performance of his intended journey, that his travell and labour might be to greater purpose, he determined to present himselfe unto pope John the two and twentieth, whose benediction and obedience being received, he, with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might convey himselfe unto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was travelling towards the pope, and not farre distant from the city of Pisa, there meets him by the way a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, saluting him by name, and saying: All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him: he answered: Whilest you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpose also: but see that you returne immediatly unto the coven from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you shall depart out of this present world. Wherefore being astonished and amazed at these wordes (especially the olde man vanishing out of his sight, presently after he had spoken them) he determined to returne. And so he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazednesse nor infirmity of body. And being in his coven at Udene in the province of Padua, the tenth day after the foresayd vision, having received the Communion, and preparing himselfe unto God, yea, being strong and sound of body, hee happily rested in the Lord: whose sacred departure was signified unto the [II. i. 67.]

Pope aforesaid, under the hand of the publique notary in these words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Januarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minorite deceased in Christ, at whose prayers God shewed many and sundry miracles, which I Guetelus publique notarie of Utina, sonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gastaldion, and one of the Councell of Utina, have written as faithfully as I could, and have delivered a copie thereof unto the Friers minorites: howbeit not of all, because they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English Knight, against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.

NEc tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke under Hamden in comitatu Somersetensi appellato, sepultum esse, virum bellicosissimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. ætatis anno diem obivit, cum (ut ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d' Algizer contra Saracenos, præliis Benamazin, Sclusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Pictaviensi, & Nazarano in Hispania dimicasset.

The same in English.

IT is by no meanes to be passed over in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerset, commonly called Stoke under Hamden: who deceased in the 96. yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaved himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

In the reigne of Edward the third.

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in trust to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of England and the French king. John Froyssart lib. 3. cap. 56.

Hus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the king, sixe thousande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his estate, tooke upon him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his Councell, to see if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beside Saint Denice, alonely with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a shippe, and so sayled foorth till he came to Dover; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the brute ran, that the Frenchmen should lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arrived at Dover, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger, and so he came to the kings Uncles there, who sweetly received him, and at a time convenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king answered and sayd, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thither to see the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace betweene England and France, for he saide that he

thought the warre was not meete: for he sayd, by reason of warre betweene these two Realmes, which hath indured so long, the Saracens, Jewes & Turkes are waxed proude, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occasion thereof I have lost my land and Realme, and am not like to recover them againe without there were firme peace in all Christendome: & I would gladly shew the matter that toucheth all Christendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I have done to the French king. Then the kings Uncles demaunded of him if the French king sent him thither or no; he answered and sayd, no: there is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to see if the king of England & his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he answered I beleeve he be at [II. i. 68.] Sluce, I sawe not him sithence I tooke my leave of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge so to doe, and Sir, if yee be conveyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counsell, and the French king in the meane season enter with his puissance into England; yee may happe thereby to receive great blame, and your person to be in great jeoperdy with them of the Countrey. Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I have sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remove from Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well advised, that he will graunt my desire, and that hee will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to him. Wherefore, sirs, I pray you in the instance of love and peace, to convey me to speake with the King, for I desire greatly to see him: or else yee that be his Uncles, if ye have authoritie, to give me answere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham sayd, syr king of Armenia, we be ordayned here to keepe and defend this passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counsell, and wee have no charge to meddle

any further with the businesse of the Realme, without we be otherwise commanded by the King. But sith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but sir, as for any firme answere ye can have none of us, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we shall convey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of Armenia returned out of England, and of the answere that was made to him.

Hen the king of Armenia was refreshed at Dover a day, and had spoken with the kings Uncles at good leasure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good cheare made him, and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were sore fortefying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then beganne his processe to the states, how he was come out of France principally to see the king of England whom he had never seene before, & said, how he was right joyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might come thereby. And there he shewed by his words, that to withstande the great pestilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne good will to doe good therein if he might, not sent from the

French king, willing to set some accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleasant words the king of Armenia spake to the king of England, and to his Counsell, then he was shortly answered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soveraigne lord, and all we are glad to see you here, but sir, we say that the king hath not here all his Councell, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be answered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and so returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counselled (and I thinke he had sent to his Uncles to know their intents, but they were not present at the answere giving) to goe to the pallace at Westminster and his Councell with him, such as were about him, and to send for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the presence of the king of England and his Councell, the king sate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearsed againe his requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely how all Christendome was sore decayed and feeblished by occasion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended nothing else, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseth, and is like to leese; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to adventure themselves. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired for Gods sake that there might be some treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Canterburie, for he had charge so to doe; And he sayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor never was seene betweene two such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the king my Sovereigne lorde should be required of peace, and he to enter his land with

a puissant army, wherefore sir, we say to you, that if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and cause him and all his puissance to returne backe into their owne countreys. And when every man be at home, then if it please you ye may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie. [II. i. 69.]

This was all the answere the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee devised, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and silver, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leave and returned unto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two dayes at Dover, and there he tooke his leave of such lords as were there, and so tooke the sea in a passager, and arrived at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Uncles, and shewed them how he had bene in England, and what answere he had: the French king and his Uncles tooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might have winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Constable came to them: The winde was sore contrary to them, for therewith they could never enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

[The voyage

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derbie, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly Henry the fourth king of England, to Tunis in Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.

Franci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac simul Genuensium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram insulasque Italiæ latrociniis infestas reddebant, suscipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliæ rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbiensem cum electa Anglicæ pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Anglique viribus & animis consociatis in Africam trajiciunt, qui ubi littus attigere, eatenùs à Barbaris descensione prohibiti sunt, quoad Anglorum sagittariorum virtute factum est, ut aditus pateret: in terram egressi recta Tunetam urbem regiam petunt, ac obsident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam nostris dare placuit, ut soluta certa pecuniæ summa ab omni deinceps Italiæ, Galliæque ora manus abstinerent. Ita peractis rebus post paucos menses, quàm eo itum erat, domum repediatum est.

The same in English.

THe French in the meane season having gotten some leasure by meanes of their truce, and being sollicited and urged by the intreaties of the Genuois undertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoyled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Ilandes adjacent. Likewise Richard the second, king of England, being sued unto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derbie with a choice armie of English souldiers unto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes united, sayled over into Africa, who when they approched unto the shore were repelled by the

Barbarians from landing, untill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus having landed their forces, they foorthwith marched unto the royall citie of Tunis, and besieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadours unto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted unto them, upon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thencefoorth abstaine from piracies upon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so having dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

The Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by Froysard and Holenshed in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a journey against the Saracens of Barbarie through sute of the Genouois, so that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went John de Beaufort bastarde sonne to the Duke of Lancaster (as Froysard hath noted) also Sir John Russell, Sir John Butler, Sir John Harecourt and others. They set forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and [II. i. 70.] other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them over into Barbarie. And so about midsomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of *The Chronicles of Genoa.* Genoa write) stood all the company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing. After

they had got to land, they invironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition upon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and so 61 dayes after their arrivall there they tooke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Genoa is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derby should be generall of the English men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in divers parts of Italie of John Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the second, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.

AD alteram ripam fluvii Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, ut accepi, Joannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, ut Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua & tumuli honore in eximiæ fortitudinis, fideique testimonium ornavit. Res ejus gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Jovius in elogiis celebrat: sat mihi sit Julii Feroldi tetrastichon adjicere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico presidiúmque solo,
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twise, to wit, in the common wealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, brother by the mothers side to King Richard the second, to Jerusalem and Saint Katherins mount.

THe Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Jerusalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purposed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he passed through France (where he had great cheere of the king, and of his brother and uncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke should have battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that journey. 1394. *Froyssart.*

The voiage of Thomas lord Moubray duke of Norfolke to Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by Holinshed, pag. 1233.

THomas lord Moubray, second sonne of Elizabeth Segrave and John lord Moubray her husband, was advanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of ye reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castle of Windsore, where he was strongly & safely garded, having a time of combate granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes, the 16. day of September, in the 22. of the sayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordred, that this duke of Norfolke was banished for ever: whereupon taking his journey to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the said citie of Jerusalem, in the first yeere of king Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

[The comming

The comming of the Emperor of Constantinople into England, to desire the aide of Henry the 4. against the Turkes, 1400.

Thomas Walsingham.

SUb eodem tempore Imperator Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulaturus subsidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die Sancti Thomæ Apostilo, suscepítque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxítque Londonias, & per multos dies exhibuit gloriosè, pro expensis hospitii sui solvens, & eum respiciens tanto fastigio donativis. Et paulò post: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator lætior recessit ab Anglis, honoratus à rege donariis preciosis.

[II. i. 71.]

The same in English.

ABout the same time the emperor of Constantinople came into England, to seeke ayde against the Turkes: whom ye king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall upon Blackheath upon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and received him as beseemed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giving him many honorable presents. And a litle afterward: Upon the hearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great joy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Jerusalem, in the sixt yeere of the reigne of Henry the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsing.

VLtimo die mensis Octobris, episcopus Wintoniensis accessit ad concilium Constanciense, peregrinaturus Hierosolymam post electionem summi pontificis celebratam, ubi tantum valuit ejus facunda persuasio, ut & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem summi pontificis se ocyùs præpararent.

The same in English.

THe last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the chusing of the Pope determined to take his journey to Jerusalem: where his eloquent perswasion so much prevailed, that he both perswaded my lords the Cardinals to unity and concord, and also moved them to proceed more speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was prevented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Holenshed.

IN this foureteenth and last yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be provided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recover the city of Jerusalem from the infidels: for it grieved him to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were bent upon a mischievous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather then to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. We finde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards shrine, there as it were, to take his leave, and so to proceede foorth on his journey. He was so suddenly and grievously taken, that such as were about him feared least he would have died presently: wherefore to relieve him, if it were possible, they bare

Order taken for building of ships and gallies.

him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and used all remedies to revive him. At length he recovered his speech, and perceiving himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answere was made, that it was called Jerusalem. Then sayde the king, Laudes be given to the father of heaven: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophesie of mee declared, that I should depart this life in Jerusalem.

Of this intended voyage Polydore Virgile writeth in manner following:

POst hæc Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere esse antiquius, quàm ad officium justitiæ, quæ ad hominum utilitatem pertinet, omne suum studium conferre, protinùs omisso civili bello, quo pudebat videre Christianos omni tempore turpitèr occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hostes communes [II. i. 72.] sumendo, de Hierosolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura destinabat, classemque jam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditanti casus mortem attulit: subito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina sublevari potuit. Mortuus est apud Westmonasterium, annum agens quadragesimum sextum, qui fuit annus salutis humanæ 1413.

The same in English.

AFterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the utmost of his indevour for the performance of justice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankinde; altogether abandoning civill warre (wherewith he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) entered into a more deepe consideration of well governing his Realme of

England, of waging warre against the common enemie, and of recovering, in processe of time, the citie of Jerusalem, yea, and was providing a navie for the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his heroicall action and enterprise, he was surprised with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of physicke. He deceased at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

END OF VOLUME IV.

NATOLIAE PARS

MAR DE SALA vel de Bacha olim Caspium

GEMECH

MENIA

ANADOLE

PEGIAN

Caldaran campus

DIARBECH olim Mesopotamia

MEDIA

GILAN

Cyprus

PARISMEDI TERRANEI PARS

SYRIA

ARDEN

CHALDEA

CASISTAN olim Susiana

PARTHIA

ARABIA DESERTA

AE GYPTVS

Smus Persicus

MAR ROXO

ARABIA FELIX

GANFRILA

AFR

DAFRIL

ZIBIT

ADEM

BARNAGASSO

IACCA

DANGALI

DOBAS

DOARA

BALI

MAGADOXO

IVAM

IRMINHERIT

AMANSIFDINA

ALIGNAL

MASEA

Imprinted at London by John Wolfe Graven by Robert Beckit

AEQVINOCTIALIS

Delineatur in hac tabula, Oræ maritimæ Abyssin. freti Mecani ol. Maris Rubri Arabiæ Oræ. Persiæ, supra Sindum usq. Flumen Indi, Cambaiæ Indiæ & Malabaricæ Insulæ Ceylon, Choromandelicæ, & Orixæ simul Gangis, Regni Bengalæ sinus item Situs, Insularum, Scopulorum, Pulmorum, Vadorum, profunditatumq. dictis oris adiacentium cum genuinis singulorum locorum Nominibus, prout ab experti simis nautarum Gubernatoribus Lusitanicæ nationis totus magno studio ex optimis tabulis Indicis recogniti omnia atq. emendati.

The description of the coast of Abex, The straights of Mecca, otherwise called the Red Sea, the coastes of Arabia, Oromus, and Persia, to the River of Sinde of the River Indus, of Cambaia, India, and Malabar The Islands of Ceilon, Choromandel, and Orixa, The River Ganges, and the kingdome of Bengala, As allso the situation of the Creekes Cliffes, Bankes, Shallowes, and depthes vpon or along by the said Coastes, with the right name of euery place as they are called by the Portingale Pilots, all truly described.

Mahoria Germaniæ, quorum 36 uni gradui respondent

Hispaniæ Teucr[ia] [illegible]

Samarchand
TVCCARA
Amu Lacus
Corus
ISTIGIAS
Bigul
Candas
Cascan minor
Balch
Alexandria
Cascan maior
Seybetcho
Bagnes
Zabaican
CANDA HAR
Candabar
RASAN
Cabul
Chelmur
Xulcan
Baigan
Sranga
Cansa
MOGORES
INDIA
SANGA
INTRA
GANGEM
Barola
Lahor
BENGALA
Satagam
Jemeri
Cambaia
INDOSTAM
Guzarate
Surate
Va
Damaon
Daneane
Diu
Orixa
Pipilipatam
Candilipatam
Palarm
Calegare
Coleroia
Pulicate
Var-Dixa
Pulicate
GOLFO DE BENGALA
Fixanda
Vanzingapatam
Bimilipatam
Bizipatam
Bedez
Pide Godonar
Bala
Mafulipatam
Bragnam
Dabul
Tanquacora
Chaul
DECAN
Baticalor
Mangalor
Cranganor
Cochim
Coulam
Mahapor ubi S Thomas sepultus esse dicitur
Andemaon
Nacoabero
Sumatra
De Ouro
Maldivæ Insulæ
Mamale
Tarnapatam
Andaro
Gurisa
Calipe
Dofasia
Mesique
Cabeli
Comori
Quiriba
Pimar
Pruca
Candaluz
Jaufar
Maldiua
Canal
Pta de Gale
Gomelpla
Ambon
Banda
Ilhas de Andemaon
Chitra Andemaon
I Caremenbar
I Rasa
Dos Palmeras
Dos Arbos
I de Nicubar
Bixa
Orixa
Pta de las Algunas Islas
Durudius
Pepenes
Sofala
Renbon
Sornau
Serenis
Sumatra
Ceylon
Malabar
Coromandel
Gangis
Regni Bengalæ
Sinus
Indicum
Mare
Arabicum
Et
Tropicus Cancri
Tropicus Capricorni
Aequinoctialis
Meridianus
Parallelus
Rhumbi
Ventorum
Directiones
Mare Rubrum
Sinus Persicus
Sinus Gangeticus
Sinus Indicus
Mare Arabicum
Mare Indicum
Mare Persicum
Mare Gangeticum
Mare Indicum
Mare Arab